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Vol. I. No. 2.

2nd Quarter.

5/6 Nett

CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. CECIL ROTH	
RABBI BERECHIAH OF NICOLE (Benedict of Lincoln)	67
2. S. KRAUSS	
OUTDOOR TEACHING IN TALMUDIC TIMES	82
3. H. HEINEMANN	
THE CONCEPTION OF REWARD IN MAT. XX. 1-16	85
4. G. R. DRIVER	
GENDER IN HEBREW NUMBERS	90
5. J. L. TEICHER	
FRAGMENTS OF UNKNOWN HEBREW INCUNABLES	105
6. M. ZULAY	
A PLEA FOR A "CORPUS OF GENIZAH PIYYUTIM"	III
NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS:	116
J. REIDER : D. WINTON THOMAS	
SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE:	118
S. APPLEBAUM : D. DIRINGER : A. SCHEIBER	
C. RABIN : D. WINTON THOMAS	
PERIODICALS AND BOOKS RECEIVED	126

PUBLISHED BY THE JEWISH FELLOWSHIP

RABBI BERECHIAH OF NICOLE (BENEDICT OF LINCOLN)

As the pattern of medieval Anglo-Jewish intellectual life slowly begins to re-emerge, it becomes apparent that one of its most eminent figures was Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole, known in the secular records of the time as Magister Benedictus filius Magistri Mossei de Lincolnia. He belonged to the most illustrious family of medieval Anglo-Jewry—the most highly cultured perhaps, Jewish or Gentile, of thirteenth-century England.¹ His great-grandfather, Moses of Bristol (later of Oxford) had been a patron of letters. His grandfather Yom-tob (known to the outside world, it appears, as Simeon) composed the lost *Sepher haTenaim*. His father, Master Moses of London, was a Hebrew and Talmudic scholar second to none in his day and wrote, besides numerous casuistic responsa and Collectanea on Rabbinic law², an important work on Hebrew grammar and punctuation which is still studied. One of Benedict's brothers was Hagin (Hayyim), Archpresbyter of English Jewry from 1257 to his death in 1280; another was the great Magister Elias (Elijah Menahem) of London, the most distinguished English Jew of the Middle Ages, who was prominent as communal leader, financier, physician, and Talmudist, a not inconsiderable body of whose writing has survived.³

Almost in the manner of the House of Rothschild five hundred and fifty years later, the sons of Rabbi Moses of London set themselves up in different parts of England, thus minimising competition and at the same time making possible widely ramified operations. Cresse and Jacob (who in 1267 sold Walter de Merton the house which served as the nucleus of his College) settled in Oxford, their father's birthplace; Vives, together with the learned Elias, remained in London; Hagin, the later Archpresbyter, and our Magister Benedict established themselves in Lincoln, the second city of the realm.⁴

It is only in 1252 that we find the first record of his activities here⁵, but before this date documentation is somewhat less abundant, and he may well have transferred his residence some while earlier. Possibly indeed he was the same Benedict of Lincoln who was associated with Abraham of Berkhamsted and two Christians in 1250 in a commission to expedite certain royal business, his name being, however, omitted from the list later.⁶ He is generally referred to now, and for some while after, as Magister Benedict (Ben') f. Mag. Mossei of

¹ I have written of it in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, xv 30-34, and in greater detail in my monograph on *The Jews of Medieval Oxford*, about to be published by the Oxford Historical Society.

² See for him and his work *Transactions* xv 31. He is referred to frequently in *MS. Michael* 502 in the Bodleian Library, which will be described below: see for these passages Appendix C. One was apparently transmitted by a certain Isaac ben Abraham.

³ See my article, *Elijah of London: the most illustrious English Jew of the Middle Ages*, in *Transactions*, *ut supra*. The following unpublished dictum ascribed to him is quoted from *MS. Bodl. Or. 759*:

בשם רבי אליהו [בן הר"ר] מנחם מלונדרש כשחל ראש חדש ביום ז' ויום א' מסטריין ביהונתן כי חדש נזכר בו והוי שפיר דסליק מיניה. אך כשחל ביום א' לבד מסטריין הפטרה של אותה שבת. כי מה לנו להפסיד בריח אחרי שאין בו ביום ולא דסליק מיניה ולא פ"י כן בסדר טרייש.

⁴ For the history of its Jewish community, see M. D. DAVIS, *The Medieval Jews of Lincoln*, in *Archaeological Journal*, 1880; C. ROTH, *Medieval Lincoln Jewry and its Synagogue*, London, 1934; and the chapter on the subject, embodying much new material, in J. W. F. HILL's *Medieval Lincoln*, 1948.

⁵ Hagin his brother, however, was almost certainly settled in Lincoln as early as 1249, when he acquired from the King the house in that city formerly belonging to Elyas Martrin.

⁶ *Patent Rolls*, 1250, 63.

London. We may assume that he was at this time at least thirty years of age, having been born therefore in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

There are a great many references in the records of the subsequent few decades to his business activity¹: though indeed it does not seem as though this was on the same vast scale as that of some of the other members of his family—for example, his illustrious brother Elias. Moreover, there seem to have been at Lincoln several persons of the same name who may readily be confused with him. In 1236 there was even a Benedict f. Moses in business here²; but it is improbable—all the more as he signs his name in Hebrew “Benet”, with the transcription instead of the equivalent of his secular name—that he is identical with the Rabbi, unless the latter began his activities far earlier than is probable. We also find in the city in the thirteenth century Benedict fil’ Jacob, Benedict fil’ Leo, Benedict fil’ Pictavin, Benedict brother of Aaron, etc. Some mentions of “Benedict of Lincoln” in the rolls must refer to one or another of these: for example, the confirmation in 1271 to Jacob of Oxford (the Rabbi’s brother) of a grant of certain houses in that city by “Moceus Peytevyne, Joceus and David, sons and heirs of Benedict de Lincolnia.”³ (It is more probable that these were of the family of the Benedict f. Pictavin mentioned above.) As a matter of fact, Master Benedict was alive after this date, as in 1276 he “mainperned” his brother Hagin⁴ (i.e. went surety for his appearance in Court on a specified date: we may surely assume that none of his namesakes was in question in this case); while in 1273 he was one of the group of wealthy Jews, including his brothers Hagin and Vives, who gave the King seventeen bezants in respite of tallage.⁵ Indeed, there is no compelling reason to question his identification with the Master Benedict of Lincoln who was in business in corn on a fairly large scale during the last phase of medieval Anglo-Jewish life, his credits falling into the hands of the Crown in 1290: in which case it is conceivable that in his old age he witnessed the expulsion of the Jews from the country and had to take up the wanderer’s staff himself.⁶

In 1255 Master Benedict was involved in the greatest tragedy of Lincoln Jewry, when a number of them were accused of having murdered the child Hugh of Lincoln for ritual purposes. According to a conjecture of Joseph Jacobs (which indeed has little positive evidence to support it) the unwonted concourse of Jews from various parts of England to celebrate the marriage of Benedict’s daughter Belaset was responsible for arousing the popular suspicion.⁷ However this may be, Master Benedict was one of the persons involved in the charge. He was arrested with upwards of ninety others, conveyed with them to the capital and imprisoned in the Tower of London on a charge of being accessory after the fact. Eighteen, who committed the tactical error of refusing to accept the verdict of a Christian jury, were hanged; the case of the rest dragged on. However, Master Benedict himself was exonerated in due course even by the dead boy’s mother; and his family was, moreover, able to secure the intervention on his behalf of Don Garcia Martinez, the envoy of the King

¹ Cf. *Exchequer of the Jews*, ed. RIGG-JENKINSON, Index, especially to volume ii.

² *Starrs and Jewish Charters in the British Museum*, ed ABRAHAMS, STOKES and LOEWE, i 44-7.

³ P.R. 1271, 606: that this document does not refer to Magister Benedict is certain from the fact that so far as is known he had no children of this name. The assumption in *Starrs and Jewish Charters*, ii 174, that he died between August and November, 1271, is thus unjustified. Cf. P.R. 1267, 281.

⁴ E.J. iii 187.

⁵ J. M. RIGG, *Select Pleas of the Jewish Exchequer*, 77.

⁶ *Transactions*, ii 94. But I hesitate to assert the identification, and indeed the person here mentioned may have died long before.

⁷ *Transactions*, i 101-2.

of Castille in England. In consequence, on December 9th, 1255, the King ordered that he should be released and all of his sequestered property restored.¹

In 1266 came another time of stress, when the Disinherited Knights (who continued the Civil War after the death of Simon de Montfort) entered Lincoln, attacked the Jewish quarter, broke into the Synagogue and seized and burned the contents. Benedict was among the sufferers; and in compensation for his losses he received the special concession that "for the damages inflicted on him by the King's enemies in the time of the disturbance of the realm . . ." he should be allowed to enjoy the possession of the pledges for those debts due to him of which the chirograph-counterparts were in the "archae," until the amounts were paid.² In 1270 he had further trouble. He had seemingly made a loan to one Roger de Eyvil on the security of some land. After 1269 such transactions were restricted; but he received the royal permission to sell his debt to Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, who (notwithstanding the terms of the recently issued Provisions of the Jewry, which were specifically intended to prevent this procedure) was buying up such credits on a fairly large scale.³ It looks as though the Archbishop secured repayment from the debtor, but the Rabbi had difficulty in obtaining the sum he considered due to him. He accordingly brought a writ against the Archbishop to recover £120, and the hearing in the Court of the Exchequer of the Jews was fixed for Easter, 1270. The Archbishop duly appeared; the other, however, decided as it seems that discretion was the better part of law: "and the said Benedict, by Jacob son of Josce Clerk, his attorney, and Master Elias, son of Master Mosses, his brother, came and withdrew from his writ."⁴ A matter of some slight interest in connection with Magister Benedict's business affairs is that he made use of a seal, as we are specifically informed.⁵ Unfortunately, no specimen of it has been preserved; but it is known that the seals bearing the human head, used by the Jews in England, were familiar to Continental enquirers.⁶

The Rabbi resided in a house aptly situated in the parish of St. Benet in Lincoln, acquired by purchase from William Badde; to this he later added an adjacent courtyard which he bought from William of Newark, together with a gateway and (it seems) another cottage. The property was thus of some value, £60 being a conservative estimate. In 1267 he sold this house to his son Hayyim for this amount, which was advanced by his father-in-law (the young man's grandfather) Joseph ben Aaron. The deed of sale is still extant—an erudite document, drawn up in accordance with the most meticulous prescriptions of Rabbinic law, and probably at Rabbi Berechiah's own direction.⁷ The reason for this transaction is not clear: it may have been that Hayyim was now setting up his own establishment, or perhaps it was a fictitious transfer to minimise the ever-present danger of confiscation. On the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290 the house of Benedict of London, in the parish of St. Benet, was granted to Robert le Venur.⁸ A Master Benedict also owned some property in Brauncegate, Lincoln, which similarly fell into the royal hands at this time.⁹

¹ RYMER, *Foedera*, i 346; P.R. 1255, 453.

² P.R. 1266, 581, 617.

³ P.R. 1267, 567.

⁴ *Exchequer of the Jews*, i 243.

⁵ *Exchequer of the Jews*, ii 123: claim for the repayment of a debt though the seal was missing, since "the part bearing the wax was in the Lincoln Chirograph-Chest, and was thence stolen by the King's enemies in the late broils." Benedict's seal figured also on the document referred to in DAVIS, *Hebrew Deeds*, 309.

⁶ Cf. J. JACOBS, *Jews of Angevin England*, 269.

⁷ M. D. DAVIS, *Hebrew Deeds*, 293-296.

⁸ *Rot. Or. in Scaccario*, 73-76.

⁹ *Transactions*, ii 96, n. 60. But the reference in these cases may be to a later Magister Benedict. I do not now think that our Rabbi was in any way associated, as was formerly believed, with the "House of Belaset the Jewess" still standing on Steep Hill, Lincoln, the owner of which was not apparently his daughter, but Belaset of Wallingford (d. 1278).

As we have seen, the Rabbi married a daughter of Joseph ben Aaron (an active Lincoln financier). Of his sons, we know of Solomon, active in 1275-7¹; Hagin or Vives, who purchased his father's house in 1267; and Manser (=Menahem), Chirographer of the Lincoln "Archa" in 1266.² Besides these, there was a daughter, Belaset (=Rachel). She became the wife of Hayyim ben Joseph³ and had a daughter, Judith. On the latter's betrothal to Aaron, son of Benjamin ben Josce Jehiel, in 1271, her dowry included a superb codex of the Massoretic Bible, as befitted the descendant of so eminent a line of scholars.⁴ Hayyim ben Joseph was also at one time Chirographer of the Lincoln "Archa" for recording Jewish monetary transactions, and on one occasion we find him signing a deed for his father-in-law, who was presumably absent from the city.⁵ As Hagin f. Joceus, son-in-law of Benedict the Jew of Lincoln, we find him receiving the royal assurance in 1267 that, in view of the damage he had suffered at the hands of the King's enemies, no "extents" (i.e. alleviations of debt) should be granted at his expense.⁶ He died, it seems, in 1273, when Belaset is mentioned as a widow. Hagin, Benedict's son, was apparently still alive and active in 1290, at the time of the expulsion of the Jews, having to his credit a very considerable capital in money-debts and in bonds for corn and wool—some £270 in all, far more than was owned by any other Lincoln Jew at this time.⁷

Thus far our story is more or less commonplace. What gives the personality of this Lincoln financier its special interest is the fact that he was at the same time a scholar of note, regarded with veneration by his contemporaries; a fact which indeed is indicated by the title "Magister" appended to his name even in the secular records. That Lincoln was something of a centre of Rabbinic learning at this period can be deduced from various other references. We encounter here about this time, for example, Hayyim (or Abraham Hayyim) ben Joseph, who signs himself by the abbreviation מו"ץ (מורה צדק, "Teacher of Righteousness"), implying that he was the recognised head of the Rabbinical court.⁸ The Judah who signed with him the betrothal contract of Belaset's daughter was the son of a scholar named Meir, who is obviously identical with the Mag. Milo of the same place, whose son Judah is recorded.⁹ Somewhat more shadowy¹⁰ is a scholar once referred to in a modern authority, Magister Sampson of Lincoln.¹¹ Finally, we have various references to Magister Josce de Lincoln, who is clearly identical with the eminent scholar who, as R. Joseph of Nicole (ר' יוסף מניקולא), is not infrequently mentioned in Hebrew sources.¹² Lincoln was not, therefore, barren of scholars and scholarship in the eyes of contemporary Jewry. Of the equation of Nicole with Lincoln there can be no question. The city is so called in numerous French and Anglo-French records of the Middle Ages.¹³ Moreover, in most of the contemporary "Shetaroth" or Hebrew deeds relating to Lincoln, the form of the name is given in

¹ *Exchequer of the Jews*, iii 62, 125, 253, 281-2.

² *Ibid.*, iii 15.

³ DAVIS, *Hebrew Deeds*, 309.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 298-302.

⁵ Cf. his signature to a Lincoln deed published *ibid.*, 309: אנו חיים בן יוסף צירונריימיר. החמתי בעד מר חמי ר' ברכיה בן הרב ר' משה as Abraham Hayyim b. Joseph figures as witness to the deed of betrothal of Belaset's daughter, which does not mention the bride's father.

⁶ *Patent Rolls*, 1267, 28.

⁷ *Transactions*, ii 95.

⁸ DAVIS, 296, 302: it cannot be taken for granted that this was Benedict's son-in-law, as both of these deeds concern his own family. The letters מו"ץ were erroneously read by DAVIS as חץ; cf. the facsimile in ADLER, *Jews of Medieval England*, frontispiece.

⁹ DAVIS, 302, 308.

¹⁰ I have not traced him elsewhere.

¹¹ STOKES, *Studies in Anglo-Jewish History*, 53.

¹² See Additional Note.

¹³ Cf. the French ballad on the case of "Little St. Hugh": *en Nichole la riche cité* (*Transactions*, i 125), and numerous contemporary sources.

Hebrew as **ויקולא** etc.—precisely that which is found in the Rabbinical literature. There is thus no doubt that Magister Benedictus filius Magistri Mossei, of Lincoln, of the thirteenth-century English records—sometimes referred to even as “Magister of Lincoln”—is the same person as the Rabbi Berechiah (ben R. Moses) of Nicole who is mentioned in the Hebrew sources as an outstanding Talmudic authority.²

Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole was formerly known to scholars only through legal rulings of his reported in the Talmudical glosses of Mordecai ben Hillel (to T. B. Berakhoth iv. 90) and in the additions to that work known as the “Shilte haGibborim” (to Aboda Zara, ii. 831)³, together with a single remark in a North French exegetical compilation of the beginning of the fourteenth century.⁴ Careful enquiry can supplement these scattered allusions by a few more of the same type, as will be seen later. But, meanwhile, I have had the good fortune to discover an important new source in the Bodleian Library which throws a new light on him, incidentally showing the high regard paid to English scholars in the Middle Ages in Rabbinic circles. He is now revealed as a scholarly figure of real significance.

The work in question (MS. Mich. 502) is a copy of the ritualistic compendium, giving the fundamental laws of Jewish observance for the ordinary man, known as the “Amude haGolah” or “Sepher Mitzvoth Qatan,” composed in 1277 by Rabbi Isaac “Baal haHotem” of Corbeil. This work immediately attained a great popularity, and the copy in question was apparently written about 1290 by one Azriel ben Azriel for his brother-in-law [Samu]el (?).⁵ Its importance lies in the fact that it contains a large number of marginal glosses, in three different hands of various periods, besides those inserted by the original scribe. The earliest in date of these refer in particular to the writings of Anglo-Jewish scholars, or to be more precise to Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole and to his father, Rabbi Moses of London. Indeed, the passages are of a nature which makes it seem certain that the writer had an Anglo-Jewish library at his disposal, or even may have lived at one time in England.

There are several references to the Collectanea (“Liqqutim”) of Rabbi Moses of Londres on various ritual matters, mainly in connection with the dietary laws.⁶ The quotations from Rabbi Berechiah number at least a dozen: “I found written in the hand of the Rabbi R. Berechiah of Nicole, who received the tradition from Our Rabbi Moses, the mighty one, his father: may his soul rest in Eden” (f. 11a, to § 31: a note on the “Zizith” or ritual fringes follows); f. 43b (§ 149), a long note on Benedictions “from the writing of the Rabbi Berechiah of Nicole of blessed memory”; and ff. 54b, 85b, 91b, 92b, 93b, 94a and 139b, Sabbatical laws “copied from the writing of the Rabbi of

¹ **ויקולא** (DAVIS, 290, 297, 311; *Starrs*, i 15, 49, 51; ii 21): **ויקולא** (DAVIS, 364; *Starrs*, i 5); **ויקולא** (*Miscellanies of Jewish Historical Society*, II 11). The only instance of a form “Lincoln” in a Hebrew document is **לינקולן** in DAVIS, 294.

² That Benedict=Berechiah hardly needs demonstration (the meaning of the two is identical), but the equivalence is given plainly in the documents in *Starrs*, I 117 (the Norman French form Benet figures *ibid.* I 9, 31). On the other hand, Berechiah=Cresselinus in *Starrs* ii 313-4.

³ See Appendix A for these texts. Rabbi Solomon Sassoon informs me that in his MS. 534, containing a fuller text of the Mordecai, the note which quotes R. Berechiah is not given: nor does the name occur in the unpublished Index to the **הגהות מיימוניות** composed by the late David Sassoon, as might have been hoped.

⁴ See below, and Appendix A §§ 16, 17.

⁵ It became conventional to insert contemporary dates and place-names in the specimen bills of divorce included in this work; in this MS. there figure Paris, 1280 and Corbeil, 1290, and it may be taken for granted that it was copied, probably in this neighbourhood, in or not long after the latter year.

⁶ See Appendix C.

Nicole" are in much the same terms. The Laws of Divorce on f. 64b are headed: "Here are the laws of divorce in brief, as gathered from the mouth of the Rabbi R. Berechiah of Nicole of blessed memory." A long marginal note on pp. 135b-138b concludes with the words: "Tosaphoth of Sens, as copied by the Rabbi R. Berechiah of blessed memory." (These "Additamenta," it may be mentioned, were compiled by R. Samson of Sens, who appears to have been the teacher of R. Moses of Londres and perhaps of his son Elijah also.) More important testimony to the authority enjoyed by writing in R. Berechiah's hand is a note on the Dietary Laws on f. 89a (to § 199): "Thus I found corrected in the 'Greater Book of Precepts' copied by the Rabbi R. Berechiah of Nicole, may his soul be in the bond of life."¹ (The "Sepher Mitzvoh Gadol" referred to here was a production of the first half of the thirteenth century by R. Moses de Coucy.)

From this we learn something of the rapidity with which Continental Jewish literature found its way to England in the Middle Ages; the respect paid to English codices; and above all Rabbi Berechiah's activity not only as a scholar but also as a copyist. This enables us to extend our enquiry. There is in the Bodleian Library (Ms. Heb. e. 17) a manuscript of an unpublished legalistic work of the same type as the one of which we have been speaking, entitled the "Sepher haNeyar" or "Paper Book" (although this copy is on parchment!) dated 1319.

Included in this are some laws relating to the Sabbath and what is or is not permitted thereon, ascribed to a certain R. Berechiah. Previous writers have held that the author cannot be Berechiah of Nicole, for no other reason except that they contain some French terms.² But as a matter of fact the Lincoln "Shetaroth" of the thirteenth century seems to reflect a French-speaking environment. Moreover, these quotations contain very much the same words as many of those in the other MS.: "written by the hand of the Rabbi R. Berechiah of blessed memory." There is apparently no other known Rabbi Berechiah of the period to whom this could be ascribed; and there is now surely no reason for withholding it from "the Rabbi of Nicole" of the same name.³

In addition, R. Berechiah of Nicole is quoted specifically in more than one other recently discovered source.⁴ He figures as an authority in the ritual guide of Jacob ben Judah of London, "Etz Hayyim," though the passages in question have not been printed.⁵ A decision of his on a certain occasion about the laws regarding the forbidden admixture of meat and milk is quoted in Ms. Halberstam 354, now in the Library of Jews' College, London⁶ (for it may be imagined that he is referred to under the title "The Rabbi of Lincoln," though the person in question might be R. Joseph of Nicole). His brother,

¹ See Appendix A § 5.

² GROSS, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vii 77, and *Gallia Judaica*, 181.

³ See below, Appendix A § 18. It would be out of place here to provide any commentary on or indicate parallels to these passages and those published later, which are typical specimens of Franco-German casuistic writing of the period.

⁴ It is perhaps possible to associate another important MS. with Magister Benedict of Lincoln. The conventional homonym of Berechiah was Cresbiah, or Crespin (GROSS, *Gallia Judaica*, 82: he refers to an English instance, Norwich, 1253, from DAVIS, *Hebrew Deeds*, 61). One might perhaps venture, though with all reserve, to identify our Berechiah with the Cresbiah haNaqdan whose copy of the "Sepher Mizvoh Gadol" (see above, text) is mentioned in a later gloss in the "Sepher haTerumah," § 201, and perhaps even with the Cresbiah haNaqdan who copied the "Mishneh Torah" of Maimonides not long after 1240, inserting some marginal notes which according to GROSS display the utmost erudition (*Ozar Nehmad*, ii 102). A. MARMORSTEIN (*JQR* NS xix 31) suggested the possibility of the identification of Berechiah of Lincoln with a R. Berechiel referred to in MS. Halberstam 354 (recte 345), § 383.

⁵ *JQR*. VI 354.

⁶ See Appendix A § 12.

R. Elijah Menahem of London, quotes his view on a liturgical matter, in which he considered that the recommendations of the Palestinian Talmud should be overridden.¹

Liturgy seems indeed to have been a main interest of medieval English Jewry, after the Dietary Laws; and the statement in Berechiah's name quoted by Mordecai ben Hillel refers to the proper hour for reciting the Sabbath service on Friday evening.² In the "Shilte haGibborim," on the other hand, his opinion figures in an interesting passage regarding the permissibility of a nut-paste, familiar presumably in England at the time, made with nuts which were not suitable for consumption in the raw state.³

Rabbi Berechiah had also some slight reputation, which long survived him, as an exegete; for his name occurs together with some other English Rabbis of the thirteenth century in the well-known collection of exegetical comments on the Pentateuch by various members of the Tosaphist school (פירושי רבותינו בעלי התוספות). Of this, one recension has been published under the title הדר זקנים (Leghorn, 1840), and another as דעת זקנים, embodying the work compiled by R. Judah b. Eliezer about 1313 (Leghorn, 1783), while there are manuscript versions, none of them identical, in various libraries⁴, the most interesting and important being probably that in the British Museum which has the title ספר הגן or (more accurately) גן אלהים.⁵ Among English scholars whose dicta are reported in the various recensions of this work are Benjamin of Cambridge (?), Aaron of Canterbury (?), Joseph of Lincoln and Elijah Menahem of London, a lengthy responsum by whom on the modern equivalents in sterling values of biblical weights is reproduced in connection with Exodus xxi 32. His brother, Berechiah of Nicole, is twice cited: once in the British Museum MS., in the commentary on Deuteronomy xxix 3-4⁶, where his opinion is quoted by R. Eliakim, the authority most frequently referred to in this work; and once, at some length, on Deuteronomy xxxiii 24-5.⁷

Much more of R. Berechiah of Nicole's writings and opinions has without doubt perished—a result perhaps of the unhappy circumstances of the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, and the tragic events that preceded it. But what has survived is of no negligible calibre; and the new material has enabled us to establish the Lincoln Rabbi's position as one of the outstanding medieval Anglo-Jewish scholars, whose name was remembered with veneration long after his death.

Oxford.

C. ROTH.

¹ See Appendix A § 13.

² See Appendix A § 14.

³ See Appendix A § 15.

⁴ MS. Or. 604 of the Bodleian Library, Oxford (חורשי זרפת); MS. Opp. 31 contains similar elements (neither of these codices, so far as I have been able to see, mentions any English scholar); MS. 232 of Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (חורשי זרפת); MS. Kaufmann (Budapest), n. 31 (מנחת יהודה); MS. Adler 2103 now in Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York; MS. 112 of the Stadtbibliothek, Frankfurt-on-Main (cf. A. FREIMANN in *Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie*, 1900, 149).

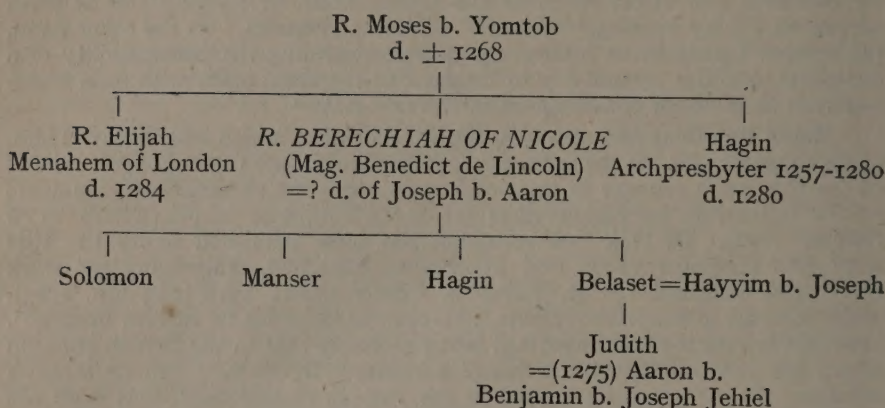
⁵ It was described by DUKES in *Ozar Nehmad*, ii 101, and by NEUBAUER in *Geiger's Jüdische Zeitschrift*, ix 217-231. I am indebted to Mr. Cyril Moss of the British Museum for his kindness in consulting it for me and transcribing the passages here printed. For the entire question of the interrelationship of the various versions, see I. LÉVI, *Manuscripts du Hadar Zekenim; recueil de commentaires exégétiques des rabbins de la France septentrionale*, in *Revue des Etudes Juives*, xlix 33-50.

⁶ Appendix A § 16.

⁷ This passage figures at length in the name of Berechiah of Nicole in the דעת זקנים 78a, and quite differently in the Bodleian MS.; and in another shortened version, but again in the name of R. Berechiah, in the MS. of the גן אלהים 130b (see Appendix A § 16). A comparison of the passages helps to throw light on the reciprocal relationship of these works.

ADDITIONAL NOTE No. 1

GENEALOGICAL TABLE



For further details regarding ancestry, and other members of the family, see the genealogical tree in "Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England," vol. XV.

ADDITIONAL NOTE No. 2

JOSEPH OF NICOLE

Another eminent Lincoln scholar of the Middle Ages, as has been mentioned, was R. Joseph of Nicole. About him, too, nothing was known hitherto other than one or two references to his legalistic and exegetical pronouncements; and it was uncertain even at what period he flourished.¹ It is now possible to settle this point definitely; for there can be no doubt that he is to be identified with that Master Joseph who was in business at Lincoln in 1225 and, together with certain other Jewish financiers, suffered some loss when the King cancelled for one year the interest on a debt owed to him.² He is referred to, also, in connection with another transaction of the same type as "master of the schools of the Jews of Lincoln," presumably implying that he occupied an official position in the community.³ It may be that he was the father of the Abraham

¹ Cf. ZUNZ, *Ritus*, 212-3; GROSS, *Gallia Judaica*, 23.

² *Close Rolls*, 1225, p. 39b: Pardon to Roger Bacon (in Ireland on the King's service) of one year's interest on his debts to Bona, formerly wife of Moses and Benedit fil' . . . and Angevin fil' Bonevie and Master Josce of Lincoln and Abraham and Pictavin his partner.

³ *Close Rolls*, 1236, p. 263: instructions for an enquiry to be held and reasonable terms arranged for the debt owed by Mar' de Paris to Josce "magistri scolorum Judaeorum Linc'."

Hayyim ben R. Joseph the Judge, of Lincoln (אברהם חיים ב'הר' יוסף מו"ץ)¹ who flourished in the middle of the century and who has been mentioned before, but the name was common enough in that city.²

The extant relics of his opinions are scanty, but far greater than was previously imagined. In particular, in the Bodleian Library MS. Mich. 46, written at Avignon before 1391, there is a fairly extensive quotation from his opinions on the Dietary Laws, which seem to have been a main interest of the medieval Anglo-Jewish Rabbis. This, hitherto unpublished, is printed below.³ In addition, a few of his casuistic decisions are quoted in the "Shilte haGibborim," in which he permitted for Jewish consumption ordinary milk, "in our parts" where it was not usual to milk unclean animals⁴; in the "Etz Hayyim" of R. Jacob of London⁵; and in certain other contemporary sources.⁶ Moreover, he, like Berechiah of Nicole, is cited more than once in the Tosaphistic glosses on the Pentateuch, which have been referred to above—both in the printed and in the MS. versions.⁷ Here, too, then, we have a further thirteenth-century Rabbi of considerable eminence whose personality is beginning to re-emerge.*

C. R.

¹ DAVIS, *Hebrew Deeds*, 302: see above, p. 70, note 8. It is not possible that the title מו"ץ (which seems to imply an official appointment) refers not to Hayyim but to his father, R. Joseph of Lincoln being in fact in question here: in that case the title corresponds to "magister scholarum Judaeorum Linc'," which also seems to imply a formal appointment.

² E.g. Josce f. Elias, 1230; Josce f. Moses, 1233; Josce f. Abraham, formerly of Bungay, 1236; Josce f. Josce, 1244; Josce of Colchester, 1246; and Josce Bulloc, 1261.

³ Appendix B § 1.

⁴ *Shilte haGibborim* to Aboda Zara ii 5. (Below, Appendix B § 2.)

⁵ *JQR*, VI. 354, IV 53. (Appendix B § 3). It may be that he is the R. Joseph referred to frequently elsewhere in this work, without the mention of his place of origin.

⁶ E.g. in the notes to a MS. of the "Lesser Book of Precepts" in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America (quoted from the "Terumah Haddasha"): cf. MARX, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*, iv 151-2.

⁷ דעה וקנים f. 81b (on Deuteronomy xvi 8; see below, Appendix B, § 4); British Museum MS. Add. 22092 (ס' תנן) f. 99a (on Leviticus xvi 14: see Appendix B, § 5). Another quotation from him on f. 121b is very badly preserved, but it is apparently identical in substance with the passage in the דעה וקנים. A. MARMORSTEIN, in *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, xii 104, cites also "MS. Adler" (2103?), pp. 227, 269. Cf. also *Monatschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, xliii 371; WEISS, *Kaufmann-Katalog*, p. 9. [Dr. Salamon Widder, of Budapest, has kindly copied for me the passages referred to here. One (to Deuteronomy xvi, 3) is identical with that printed in Appendix B § 4 below, but the other (to Deuteronomy xxxiii, 14), in the name of 'R. Joseph,' is ascribed in the printed version to Joseph Bekhor-Shor.]

*For Appendices, see over.

DOCUMENTS

APPENDIX A: R. BERECHIAH OF NICOLE.

1. *MS. Mich. 502* (Bodleian Library, Oxford) ; Fol. 43b :

לשון[ן] התוספות [פסחים, לו; ב] אמר ר' דקיימלן כר' יוחנן אע"ג דסוגיין כריש לקיש דמעשה אילפס פטורין מ"מ לא מני להו בהחולץ [יבמות, לו; א] בתלת דהלכה כריש לקיש וכן פסקו בשאלות דרב אחאי ומיהו אור' אע"ג דמחייב ר' יוחנן על ידי משקין מודה דאין עליו תורת לחם כגון קרשפאש ובוניין ואין מברכין עליהם המוציא כדאית' בירושלמי חלה אמר ר' יוסי אמ"ר יוחנן כל שהאור מהלך תחתיו חייב בחלה ומברכין המוציא ויוצאים (!) בו בפסח ריש לקיש כל שהאור מהלך אינו חייב בו אמ"ר ובלבד על ידי משקין ואור' דפליגי בדבר שבלילותו רכה דר' יוחנן סבר אילפס עושהו לחם וריש לקיש סבר אין עושהו לחם אבל דבר שבלילותו עבה מודו כולי' עלמא דמחייב בחלה ואפילו אית עלה משקין כגון רשלא דהא משעה גילגול חייב בחלה כדאמ' עד שלא גלגלה תעשה טומאתה ובמס' חלה מוכחנן דתנן עסה שתחילתה סופגין וסופה סופגין פטורה מחלה תחילת' עסה וסופה סופגין או איפ[נ]כא [חייבת בחלה ואומר ר"ת דפרטש וירושלשים] (?) כי היכי דחייבת בחלה כמו כן בהמורניא ור' אומר דלא דמי דמשעה גילגול חייבו ליה בחלה אבל בהמורניא אין בו תורה לחם בשעה שנאפה ואין לברך המורניא ור"ת פי' וורמאוש דאין לברך עליהם המוציא שאין בהם מארייתא דנהמיא ואע"פ שנתחייבה עיסה בחלה ונר' כדבריו וראיה לדבריו ממנחות ומפר' כיצד מברכין היה עומד ומקריב מנחות בירושלים אומר שהחיינו נטלן לאכל מברך המוציא ופסיק ותני לא שנא מאפה תנור ומחבת מרחשת אע"פ שמטוגנין בשמן ועל כן נזראה[ן] לברך אפרטשא ורוישלש המורניא דאין לחלק בין מים לשמן ואוכליאש וקנטיוש מברכין עליהם המוציא ונילשא נר' שאין מברכין עליהם המוציא אע"פ שנעשית בלא משקה אין בהם תוארייתא דנהמא הינו דאין מפרישין מהם חלה אע"פ שיש כשיעור ומשיחייב בהם כמצרף ואע"ג דגבי טרייתא דהיינו מחתה גביל פ' שמרתיחין אותם ומגבילין אותם אמרינן ככיצד מברכין דחייב חלה ומברכין בורא מיני מזונות אין לומר כמו כן כאן ואע"פ דמחייב ר' יוחנן מעשה אילפס מ"מ אין מברכין על נאלס (?) המוציא חדא דלא משמע בירושלמי ועוד דגובלא בעלמא היא ואינו סועד הלב לחם האפוי בתנור קרוי לחם וא"ת מגלן לחלק בין בלילתו רכה בין בלילתו עבה והא לר' יהודה אין לחלק דהא תולה עיגמו בלחם האפוי בתנור אחר ואור' רה"פ לחם שרגילין לאפותו בתנור אחר כגון בלילתו קשה מכתיבת יד הרב"ר ברכיה מניקול ג"ע.

2. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 54b :

ומטעם זה [היסח הדעת] אמרינן סח בין תפילה לתפילה עבירה היא בידו וחזור עליו מערכי המלחמה הגהה ורשי פי' במנחות [לו; א] סח בין תפילה לתפילה ולא ברך על השניה וסמך על הראשונה עבירה היא בידו ומשמע הא אם ברך על השניה מצוה ושכר ברכה הר"ר ברכיה ג"ע.

3. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 64a :

הילך הילכות גיטין בקוצר כאשר נזקק מפי הרב ר' ברכיה מניקול ג"ע בקוצר למען ירוץ הקורא בו בשיטת ר' יצחק ולא רצה להאריך בו בראיות למען ירוץ הקורא בו. צריך להיות דיו וקלף וקולמוס משל בעל ואין לקפידין בקולמוס הואיל ונפק מפומיה דר"ת ואם אין לו יתנו לו אחרים במתנה ניתן לסופר לכתוב גט ויצונו לכתוב לעדים לחתום ויצוה לסופר בפני שני עדים כשרים לעדות שלא יהיו קרובים לא לאיש ולא לאישה ולא זה לזה ואם הסופר ראוי להעיד אין צריכים שנים אחרים שצוהו הבעל לכתוב אלא הוא ואחר הכשר להעיד עמו וכשבא הסופר לכתוב יכתבנו בפני כ' הכשירים להעיד ויודעים שהוא רוצה לכתוב גט לשם פלוגיתא אשתו של פלוני וטוב לעשות הכל בכת אחת שעידי צוהא לסופר

לכתוב הן עידי כתובה מפני דיבת רבים לגמגם ולומר חצי דבר הוא: והכל הוא: ושמא אין צריך עדים לכל זה אע"פ שאין הבעל מכיר כתיבת הסופר ואם שליח מביאו צריך לעמוד על הסופר ויזהר הסופר שלא יגעו זה בזה ואם נמחקו מקצת אותיות הגט או נשטשטשו ואין רישומו ניכר אין לאדם לתקנם רק במצות הבעל אך הסופר יכול לתקנם אם אמר לו הבעל מתחילה: לכתוב גיטין הרבה עד שיהיה אחד כשר אבל אחר החתימה צריך עיון מיוחד שלא חתמו העדים על זה ואם האות מליאה כי כך דין שאינה ניכרת אות אסור לתקנה בסכין דהוה ליה חק תורות אע"פ דבספר תורה כשר בפר' הבונה כשנטל גגו של ד[לת] ועשאו רי"ש טוב שלא יהיה בגט גמגום.

4. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 85b :

תניא בתוספתא היה שוחט והתיו בבת אחת אם נתכוון לכך פסולה ואם לאו כשירה לא שעשה דרכה אלא ששחט המפרקת אחר הסימנים מהרב ר' ברכיה מניקולא זצ"ל.

5. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 89a :

בה"ג מצא האבי בועא דקיימא בשיפולי ריאה או על אונא אי מהדר לה תורא הדר הודרנא בישרא אפילו משהו כשירה ואי לא חסיר היא וטריפה בתחתית ההר מתר' בשיפולי תורא כך מצאתי מוגה בספר מצות גדול מכתבת הרב ר' ברכיה מניקולא זצ"ל.

6. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 91b :

והיינו דווקא מחמת החולי ניקב שאם ניקב על ידי מחט והכיס קיים על מרחק נקובי נקיב הוושט או הדקין [ואמאי] (?) מכתבת הרב ר' ברכיה מניקולא זצ"ל.

7. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 92b :

כתוב בהלכות גדולות בעלת כול' אחת או שלש כשיר מהי (?) מר (?) מדמג' לה במוחי קדושים בבכורות מכלל דלהדיוט שרי מוגה מכח הר"ר ברכיה מניקולא זצ"ל.

8. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 93b :

ושיעור צומת הגידים פ' הגאון אבן מיימין בשור י"ו אצבעות כל זמן שהם לבנים וקשים עד שיתחילו להאדים וכן פ' בערוך בטרא ד' אצבעות וארבע בטרי הם י"ו אצבעות אבל רש"י פירש ארבע בטרי ארבע אצבעות מוגה ברכיה זצ"ל.

9. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 94a :

ור"ת היה מתיר כל העדר שנתערבה הדרוסה לבד שנים האחרונים כדא' בזבחים [ע; ב] וניכבשינה וכי היכי דניציידן ונימא כל דפריש מרובא פריש ואע"ג דגזר התם שמא יטול מן הקבוע הני מילי בקדשים אבל בחולין לא גזרינן הרב ר' ברכיה זצ"ל.

10. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 137b :

אור"ת דאין לאסור לנשים תכשיטיהן . . . ולאיש טבעת שאין עליה חותם נגדו אסור לנו דהא ברשות הרבים גמור חייב חטאת ולדידן איכא איסורא דרבנן ל' תוספת משאנן הוועקת מכתבת הרב ר' ברכיה זצ"ל.

11. *Ibidem* ; Fol. 139a :

. . . והמנהיגו [את הסוס] ברשות הרבים והאפסר בידו צריך ליזהר שלא ירצא החבל מתחת ידו טפח ומה שבין ידו לראש הסוס יגביה טפח מקרקע דהכי אמרינן לקמן בפירקין ומותר

לכרוך חבל האפסר סביב צואר הבהמה ומצא דהא אשכחן הלכה למעשה דרב הונא ואף מולאות עול ר'. הועתק כתיבה הרב מניקול נ"ע.

12. Ms. Halberstam 354 (Jews' College, London; Montefiore Collection) §593:

מעשה בא לפני הר"ר מניקולא מקערה שנשתמש בה חלב מעט והניח דרט' [?] על גבי קדירה של בשר חמה אך לא היתה הקדירה מעלה רתיחות והתירה דלמאי נחוש לה מאחר שאי' החלב ניכר מבחוץ ע"ג הקערה כ"א מפני' ואם היה החלב ע"ג הקערה מבחוץ ק"ל דאסור כפי' ר"ת שאמר טיפ' חלב שנפל' על הקדירה מבחוץ אסור הכל אבל הכא לא הוי ניכר חלב מבחוץ. ואין לומר דאסור מכח שהקערה בלע' שומן הקדירה ושוב חזרה ופלט' זה אינו מאחר שהקערה צוננת כי ההי' דובחי' דרקיק שנגע ברקיק לא אסר אלא מקום מגעו מפני שמקצתו חמה ומקצתו [sic] צונן ה"ב האי קדירה אם נתנה טעם בקערה כמו שהי' מעלה רתיחות ודאי הקדירה היתה מבלעת הקער' שומן ושוב פלט הקערה ואסר' הקדירה אבל כי האי מעשה שהקערה צוננת והקדירה אינו [sic] מעלה רתיחות אע"פ שהקדירה חמה כזה אין לאסור התבשיל עכ"ל.

13. פרישת רבנו אליהו מנחם . . . מלונדרש לברכות וזרעים הוצ' .
י. נ. אפשטיין, מדעי היהדות תרפ"ו; ע' 2:

וכשהש"ץ מגיע למודים שוחין כל העם ואומ' מודים וכו' בא"י אל ההודאות ובירושלמי מפר' שחזותי' בה. ואמר לי אחי הר"ר ברכיה שאין לחתום בה אחרי שבהודאה שעל ברכת השמים מפר' בתלמוד חתימי' ולא בזאת נראה שאין לסמוך על הירושלמי.

14. Berakhoth, § 90, מרדכי.

ופירש רבינו ברכיה מניקולא דבפרק תפלת השחר משמע דהא דרב צלי של שבת בע"ש היינו בשעה ורביע קודם הלילה דהיינו פלג המנחה ע"כ:

15. שלטי הגבורים, Aboda Zara, § 7:

שמעתי משם הר"ב ברכיה מניקולא לאסור משום בישולי עובד כוכבים אותם אגזיז גדולים שכבשו עם קליפתן מרה ועם הגרעין קודם גמר הגרעין וע"י עובדי כוכבים הם נכבשין בעוד הם מרים ואינן ראויין לאכול בלא כבוש מתוך מריותם וכבוש הרי הוא כמבושל וא"כ מבושלים הם ע"י עובדי כוכבים.

16. B.M. MS. Add. 22092, Fol. 130b (To Deut. xxix 3-4) : ס' גן אלהים :

(א) ואולך אתכם ארבעים שנה במדבר וגו' וקש' דהיה לו לומר ויולך כמו שכתב' ולא נתן ואמר הר"ר אליקים כשם הר"ר ברכיה מניקולא דאיתא התם עד כאן דברי התלמיד מכאן ואילך דברי הרב.

(ב) ברוך מבנים אשר . . . מדרש על אשר גלה מראובן שבלכל יצועי אביו עמדו אחיו ונדהוהו בא משה והתירו לכך נאמ' ברוך כי המנודה כארור מבנים שהמנודה מובדל וטובל בשמן רגלו לפי שהמנודה אסור בסיכה. ברזל ונחושת מנעליך לפי שהמנודה אסור בנעילת סנדל. וכימך דובאך לפי שהמנודה אינו מאריך ימים לש' מהרר ברכיה מניקולא.

ד"א ברוך מבנים אשר כתוב במדרש : Livorno, 1783, Fol. 89b 1 : דעת זקנים
שמפני שהוא גלה מראובן שבלכל יצועי אביו עמדו אחיו ונדהוהו בא אשר והתירו ברוך לפי שמנודה כארור מבנים לפי שהמנודה אסור בתשמיש המטה.

יהי רצוי אחיו לפי שהמנודה מובדל וטובל בשמן רגלו לפי שהמנודה אסור בשמן וסיכה.
ברזל ונחשת מנעליך לפי שהמנודה אסור בנעילת הסנדל. וכימין דבאך. לפי שהמנודה
אינו מאריך ימים כך שמעתי בשם הר"ר ברכיה מנקול"א.

17. *MS. Heb. e 17 (Bodleian Library) Fol. 6b :*

כל מניח לדעת הואיל ודעתו היה בשעת ההנחה להניחו שם כל השבת הכלי נעשת
בסיס ובטל אגב המוקצה אבל אם אין דעתו להניחו שם כל השבת שלא הקצה דעתו מן
הכלי או אינו נעשה בסיס לדבר האסור את במניח ומניח נמי אינו נעשה בסיס אם לא שיהא
האיסור דבר חשוב כגון מעות שעל גבי הכד שדעת האדם שיהא הכד בסיס ומורשב למעות
שלא יתפור וכן אכן על פי החבית שיהא לצורך היין שם אבל אי לא חשיב אינו נעשה בסיס
לעולם כך שיטת הרב כתב יד הרב ר' ברכיא זצק"ל.

18. *Ibidem ; Fol. 8a :*

איקליירא שמהו מערב שבת ונותנו בעין בשבת מאן דחזי סבר רחיצה ביין הוא ואם לא
שרה מע"ש נותנו על יד הגוי בשבת דסורייקי דעינא בליבא תליין כך כתב הר"ר ברכיה
זצק"ל.

APPENDIX B: R. JOSEPH OF NICOLE.

1. *MS. Mich. 46, Fol. 72a :*

ואלו הדינין שנמצאו ב משה [?]

דין דשומן ובשר שני מינין הן דין דחתיכה של איסור שיש בה בשר ושומן בטלה בס'
דחתיכות שיש בהן בשר ושומן אפילו למ"ד מין במינו לא בטל וכן חלב ובשר שני מינין
הם דין דשני שיעורי זתים איסור שנפלו בקדירה בשני ששים זיתים דהיתר בתחילת הבישול
ובסוף הבישול נתמעטו ולא נמצא רק כזית איסור יחד ששים זיתי היתר הכל מותר דין
דשני זיתי איסור שנפלו בקדירה ואין ידוע אם בתחלת הבישול היה בו כשני ששים זית
היתר אלא בסוף הבישול ידוע שיש בהיתר ס' מן האיסור הנמצא מותר דאמרינן מדהשת'
ששים מעיקרא נמי ששים כנ"ל הר"ר יוסי מניקולא ז"ל עוד נראה להר"ר יוסי דכזית חלב
שנמחה בחטין או בפוייש או בפביש בפחות מששים וריטבן עד שנפחו הפירות ועמדו על
ששים מותר שדרך פירות להותיר בריטבה מה שאין כן בחלב וכן הדין אם נפל בחטין ושחננו
שמותר ואין כאן משום בטול איסור לכתחלה משום דמיניה וביה ק' מרכה כנ"ל עוד נ"ל
דאיסור לשרות בשר מלוחה יבישה שלא הודחה במלאוהא אפילו בפושרין בכלי ראשון אלא
כיצד יעשה מדיחה ממליחתה במים צוננין עד שיודח ממלח אסור שעליה ואח"כ שורה אותה
פשושרין בכלי ראשון מהר"ר יוסי ז"ל ענ"ל דשומן וחלב או בישול שהן מפעפין ואוסרין
בדבר מליח ה"מ בלח אבל ביבש לא ונ"ל דפיעפוע של בישול אין צריך קליפה אבל פעפוע
של צלי בעי קליפה ענ"ל ידיעתו מתרת ואין ידיעת חבירו מתרת לו כנ"ל וכבד בפשטידא
דאי נתבקעה מלמטה וספק אם קודם האפיה נתבקעה או לאחר האפיה וגם ספק אם פעפוע
השומן מלמעלה וכיסה ברתיוחותיהן וברתיוחותיה מוחל שבבשר מותר בספק ספיקה כנ"ל לא
מצאתי יותר.

2. *Aboda Zara, II § 5 (MORDECAI, 826) :*

פרק גיד הנשה אמרינן מקולין וטבחי ישראל בשר הנמצא ביד עובד כוכבים מותר ופירש
הר"ר יוסף מניקולא דמכחו יש להקל קצת במקומות שלנו דרוב עובדי כוכבים דחולבין
בהמות אין חולבין אלא בהמות טהורות ולא טמאות וא"כ החלב שחלבו עובד כוכבים מותר
ואפילו היו רוב בהמות טמאות דבתר רוב חולבין אזלינן ולא בתר רוב בהמות . . .

3. עץ חיים ; (Quoted in J.Q.R. IV, 53) :

בשאלתות איתה אין אר' סדר קדושה ביחיד אך מביא הר' יוסף מניקול . . .

4. דעת זקנים ; Livorno, 1783, Fol. 81b, 1 :

ששת ימים תאכל מצות. פרש"י ובמקום אחר הוא אומ' שבעה ימים שבעה מן הישן וששה מן החדש עכ"ל וק' תיפוק לי מלחם וקלי וכרמל לא תאכלו עד עצם היום הזה משמע שאסור לאכול חדש רק ששה ימים ותיירץ רבינו יוסף מניקולא דאי לאו ששת ימים וגו' ה"א דאתי קרא דבערב תאכלו מצות ודחי לא תעשה דחדש ונפקא מינה היכא דלא מצי כלל ט"ו בניסן אלא החדש שיטול ממנו אפי' קודם הקרבנו קמ"ל ששת ימים וכו' דמשמע ששת ולא שבעת ימים ולאו הכא מכלל עשה עשה והשתא איכא לאו ועשה ואין עשה דוחה את לא תעשה ועשה.

5. ס' גן אלהים ; B.M. MS. Add. 22092, Fol. 99a :

ולקח מדם הפר. גלוי וידוע שדם הפר מרובה מדם השעיר ואפי' הכי לא בטיל דמין במינו ולא בטיל. וקש' להר"ר מקורביל מנ' לך לעולם אימ' לך דליבטיל והא דלא בטיל הכא משום דכלל דם הפר לא היה שם דהא כת' ולקח מדם הפר דם מהפר יקבל דגורעין ומוסיפין ודורשין וא"כ משמע דכל הדם היה שם. וא"כ לא בטיל דם השעיר. פשטא הר"ם ונר' להר"ר יוסף מניקולא לתרץ דשפיר מהאי קר' דכת' כי הדם הוא הנפש יכפר דם שהנפש יוצאה בו מכפר שאין הנפש כו' והאי קרא מיר' בדם שהנפש יוצאה בו דהיא לכפרה אתי מדכת' לכפר עליו והכל יודעין דדם שהנפש יוצאה בו מפר מרובה משעיר י"ה קא חשיב שתיהם ש"מ דאי' דם מבטל דם.

APPENDIX C : R. MOSES OF LONDON.

MS. Mich. 502 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

1.

Fol. 11a :

ציצית שנפסק בשבת אין צריך להעביר טליתו מעליו כי לא צוה הב"ה שלא ללבוש טלית בלא ציצית אך צוה שאם לבשת טלית הטל בו ציצית ובשבת שאין אתה יכול להטיל בו ציצית נפטרת מאותו ציוי אך אין אסור בלבישת טלית בלא ציצית וראיה מדבעי לאוכותי ב' האשה [יבמות. צ. ב. ; ר' מנחות. מ. ב.] דיש כח ביד חכמים לעקור דבר מן התורה מסדין בציצית בית שמאי פוטרין והכא דמיאורייתא מחייב ורבנן מיפטרי גזירה משום כסות לילה ומשני שב ואל תעשה שאני ואי סלקא דעתך דאסור ללבוש טלית בלא ציצית א"כ קום עשה דהתורה הזהירה שלא ללבוש טלית בלא ציצית ואתו רבנן ואמרי קום ולבוש אותו אלא ש"מ כדפי' ועוד ראיה מסוף הקומץ רבה [מנחות. לו. ב.] דמר בר רב אשי איפסיקא ליה קרנא דחוטא בשבתא ולא אמ' ליה רבינא ולא מידי עד' דמטא לביתיה וא"ל שאם ארע ברשות הרבים אי לאו משום כבוד הבריות הדוחה לא תעשה היה משליכו מעליו משום משוי משמע הא בביתו שפיר דמי אף בחול שפיר לאפרושי מעליו עד שיטיל בו ציצית.

מצאתיו מיד הרב ר' ברכיה מניקול שקיבל מפי הרבינו [!] משה אביר העולם אביו תנחנח נפשו בגן החיים.

2.

Fol. 96a :

מצאתי כתוב בליקוטי ר"מ מלונדרש על הבצים תנו רבנן לוקחין בצים מ"מ ואין חוששין לא משום נבילות ולא משום טריפות דנאמר של עוף טהור הוא. מה שאנו לוקחין בצים מגוים אע"פ שלא אומרים מעוף טהור פלוני דסמכין ארובא דבצים המצויין בינינו דעוף טהור ומה שאנו לוקחין אובליאש נילושות בבצים אע"ג דאסרינן לקמן ליקח בצים טרופות דהתם איכא ריעותא דמדובנין להו גוי טרופות אימיר ישר' מכרן לו כן לפי שהיו של טריפה אבל בעיסה שנילושה ליכא ריעותא וסמכין ארובא ולדם

לא חיישינן דברוב ליכא דם מיהו יש לאסור משום כישולי גוים דכצים אפילו לאחר פת שלקות לא היו בכלל פת דשתי גזירות היו שלקות ופת דפת מ"ח דבר ושלקות קדמונות היתה דהוה בעי למימר בפ' אין מעמידן [עבודה זרה, לח, א] גבי ההא דהרסנא מהו דתימא דהרסנא עיקור קי"ל קימחא עיקר ובקימחא אין איסור לא היא דה"פ אף קימחא עיקר וא"כ הכא נמי הביצה עיקר וביצה יש בה משום כישולי גוים בפ' אין מעמידן: יצחק בר אברהם.

3. Fol. 99a :

ונראה לרבינו משה מלונדרש ג"ע דאין לחלק כאשר חשבו רבותינו דהיינו דווקא חלב דמינו מפעפע אף באותה חתיכה כשהיה ביושב אבל חלב המפעפע באותה חתיכה כדאמרינן גבי גדי שצלאו גבי מחתיכה לחתיכה יפעפע דהצלי היא אומ' דאפילו חלב מפעפע בכל החתיכות בלא רוטב דתנו טפת חלב שנפלה על חתיכה בשר אם יש בנותן טעם באותה חתיכה אסורה וזאת החתיכה חוץ לרוטב ע"כ דאכתי לא איירי בניער וכסה דאי היא ברוטב היאך תתן הטפה טעם בחתיכה בלא רוטב וברוטב ודאי לא נתנה טעם דהא לא משערינן אלא דחתיכה עצמה ולא אסרינן נמי כל הקדירה אפילו יש באותה ליתן טעם בכולה אלא אם ניער וכיסה וכיון דכולה חוץ לקדירה או מקצתה לכל הפחות דאסר דחלב מינו מפעפע בכל החתיכות אלא א"כ הויא ליה צלי ולא ליבעי אלא קליפה ואותה חתיכה נמי אמאי אסורה וכי נמי נער וכסה אמאי צריך לבטל החתיכה הלא לא נאסרת כולה אלא לאו ש"מ דחלב מפעפע בכל החתיכות ומעתה אין לחלק בין פיעפוע לחלב לחלב ונתקיימה קבלת מורי הקדוש ר' מנחם אשר קבלתי ממנו ולא כדברי [בני] עמינו המורים דחלב מפעפע מחתיכה לחתיכה ומחלקים בין חלב לחלב כאשר פירשתי למעלה.

4. Fol. 104b :

מעשה אירע לפני ה"ר רבינו משה מלונדרש במחבת שבישלו בה חלב העבירי' מעל האש ושהתה על קרקע מעט ועירו מחלב בקערה שנשתמשו בה בשר החלב לתוך המחבת ואסר הקערה והתיר החלב משום ספק ספיקא [שמא : cancelled] הקערה בת יומא ואת"ל בת יומא שמא אין היד סולדת בו שהרי שהתה מעט על קרקע.

5. *Ibidem* :

שוב מעשה כביצים שנתבשלו במחבת של בשר והתיר לאכל גבינה אחרי כן על ידי קינוח והדחה חדא דאמרינן דגים שעלו בקערה מותר לאוכלם בכוחו ואם חילוק בין עלו לנתבשלו אם אפילו בתוך החלב היו מותרים ועוד דר"ת התיר לאכל גבינה אחר בשר על ידי קינוח והדחה ואפילו מאן דאסר הכא מודה אפילו(?) לאחר תבשיל של בשר כדאמרינן התם בין תבשיל לגבינה.

6. *Ibidem* (as above with the following variants) :

שוב מעשה בא לפני רבינו משה מלונדרש כביצים ... גבינות ... היא דאמרינן ... עלו לנתבשלו אם כן אפילו ... מאן דאסר הכא מותר ואפילו ...

7. *Ibidem* :

שוב בא מעשה שהיו לשין עסה ולקחו מן מים חמין בקערה של בשר בת יומא ולשו מהן העסה והתיר להם ר' לאוכלה בחלב ואפילו אין במים ששים מהקערה כדאמרינן דגים שעלו בקערה לא יכלם (!) בכוחו משום נותן טעם בר נותן טעם ואפילו לא נתקנחה הקערה והיה בה שמנונית בעין מותר דאוחו שמנונית שעליה דבר מועט וממעט יש במים ששים ובטל.

8. *Ibidem* :

הילך הילכות מליחת בשר וכל הדינים כאשר סידרם רבינו משה מלונדרשא תנ"בה. [Desunt].

¹ Perhaps Menahem (Manser) the Scribe of London (DAVIS, *Hebrew Deeds*, p. 356; *Starrs ii 115*): cf. my study, *The Intellectual Activities of the Jews in Medieval England*, to appear shortly. But perhaps Menahem of Dreux is meant.

OUTDOOR TEACHING IN TALMUDIC TIMES*

The subject of teaching under the open sky in talmudic times was first discussed by me as long ago as 1911¹ and referred to again in my 'Talmudische Archäologie.'² A. Büchler in his turn discussed this subject in a special paper under the title, 'Learning and Teaching in the Open Air in Palestine.'³ May I now, after so many years, return to it again in order to offer new evidence of this practice and extend my inquiry to cover both Palestine and Babylonia.

The starting point of my investigation was the expression, *Kerem be-Yabneh*, the seat of Jokhanan b. Zakkai's academy, or, according to others, of his Court (Beth-Din). Mentioned several times in the talmudic sources in such contexts as the following: "when scholars⁴ gathered in the vineyard of Yabneh," or "I heard in the vineyard of Yabneh . . .," or, "this question was raised in the vineyard of Yabneh,"⁵ the expression has been taken to be a metaphor for a "corona, circle of scholars." It should, however, be taken literally, as referring to a real vineyard in Yabneh in which scholars used to assemble. This is evidenced by the passage in 'Cant. Rabba':⁶

Again, it happened that the scholars of Israel held council⁷ in the vineyard of Yabneh. Were they in a real vineyard? In fact, the Sinedrion is meant, in which scholars sat in rows like trees in a vineyard, and [grouped like soldiers] round their standards.⁸

Similarly, we read in "T. Y. Berakhoth," IV, 7: "The students of the academy were seated in rows like [trees in] a vineyard." If there is any doubt as to whether "vineyard" is used here as a metaphor, the following statement would seem to be conclusive: "When the scholars in Yabneh entered⁹ the vineyard . . ."¹⁰ Nobody can enter an imaginary vineyard.

The reason why the scholars in Yabneh assembled in a vineyard is evident: in the hot Palestinian climate they required a shaded place and this was provided by the vineyard. Büchler dealt very exhaustively with the whole question of open air study and quoted instances of the shades of buildings being used for this purpose in the warm season. Jokhanan b. Zakkai taught in Jerusalem in the shade of the Temple walls.¹¹ The prophets of old used to address the people on the Temple Mount or even in the shade of the Temple

* Based on a lecture delivered at Jews' College (London).

¹ *Die Versammlungsstätten der Talmudgelehrten* in I. LEVY's *Festschrift*. ² III 205.

³ *JQR*, NS IV 485-491. Shortly before his death, BÜCHLER published a study under the title, *מסע על ראשי עם קדוש*, in *Dissertationes in honorem Dr. EDUARD MAHLER*, Budapest, 1937, 379-405, which contains a wealth of information about scholastic life in Palestine. The subject of teaching in the open air is, however, not mentioned at all.

⁴ חכמים.

⁵ All the sources are collected by S. KLEIN, *Sepher ha-Yishshubh*, Jerusalem, 5899 [1939], p. 754.

⁶ VIII, 11; cpr. also VIII, 13. נמנו. ⁷ שורות שורות דגלים דגלים. ⁸

⁹ משוכנו. In the phrase, *ארבעה נכנסו למדרס* in T. B. Hagigah, 14b, the verb "entered" is obviously a metaphor, just as is the expression "Pardes."

¹⁰ *Tosefta Eduyoth I* ed. ZUCKERMANDEL, 454.

¹¹ T. Y. 'Abodah Zara III, 43b; T. B. Pesachim, 25a. Rashi explains aptly: "The Temple walls were very high and projected their shadow over a wide area." His second explanation that "the disciples were so numerous that no school building in the town could contain them," seems to me to be less relevant.

Gates.¹ It should be remembered that in ancient times, city gates were buildings of some depth.² In Talmudic times these buildings, called *Bet-sha'ar* (Gatehouses),³ usually terminated in an "exedra" which served as a meeting place for scholars and their audiences. Gatehouses of private buildings, like that of R. Joshua's house where four of his disciples sat for a discussion⁴, and even a pigeon house in the courtyard⁵, afforded a conveniently shaded meeting place in hot weather. Market places in towns⁶ were a customary meeting place for open air studies and also for disputations between "philosophers" (Christian scholars) and the rabbis.

Büchler's views are thus in accordance with mine, except in the following point. In a quotation from the lost 'Yelamdenu' on Cant. viii 13, reported by the 'Arukh', it is stated that "scholars and their disciples⁸ used to sit *genuniyoth*, *genuniyoth*," which I explained as meaning, "small garden" (hortulus).⁹ The figure of speech is analogous to *shuroth*, *shuroth*, and in Mark vi, 39-40, we have a similar instance of reiteration of the noun: "And he [Jesus] commanded them [the disciples] to make all sit down by companies upon the green grass. And they sat down in ranks (πρὸς πρὸς), by hundreds, and by fifties." The Greek corresponds perhaps to ערונות ערונות.

My explanation was resisted by Büchler who argued that, "the mere fact that the plain word *baggannim* of the text in Cant. viii 13, was not retained without any change of interpretation shows that *genuniyoth* does not mean gardens." He further contended: "Nor can it be said without strain in Hebrew that scholars sit like small gardens; in the plain prose of an agadah an adverbial accusative denoting place must not be assumed." Finally, he derived the word *genuniyoth* from the root, *גנן*, "to cover," and explained the passage in 'Yelamdenu' as referring to "the company sitting under the *huppah* (shade)."¹⁰ On this, it may be observed that it does not much matter whether we use *gan* or its diminutive; the notion of "garden" is conveyed in either case. Further, *genuniyoth* is an adverbial accusative denoting not place, but "the manner of sitting," and agadah is not always "plain prose."¹¹ Büchler's assumption that the passage in 'Yelamdenu' refers to *huppah* can hardly be granted. It is difficult to imagine that the masters and their disciples would erect *huppah* before engaging in study when to sit down in "gardens" required no preparations.

For the custom of teaching in open fields, the halakhah in 'Menahoth,' X 9 offers a significant illustration. According to this halakhah, the biblical injunction (Lev. xxiii 10), that the harvesting of barley should not begin

¹ Jer. VII 1.

² cp. Jer. XXXIX 4: "the gate betwixt the two walls."

³ See my *Talm. Archäol.* I 366. The Halakha distinguishes such gatehouses from the "door house" of private buildings; see T. Y. 'Erubin. VIII 1, 25a; T. B. 'Er. 75b.

⁴ Tos. Berakhoth. IV, 18 (ed. cit. p. 10).

⁵ *Ibidem*, IV, 16 (and parallels).

⁶ For example, Sepphoris; see *Midrash Tannaim*, ed. HOFFMANN, p. 262.

⁷ *Sub voc.* גן (ed. Venice, 53a; ed. KOHUT II 315). The full passage is given in Büchler's and my articles and also in GRÜNHUT, *Sepher ha-Liqqutim*, V 130a, and in I. Löw, *Flora der Juden*, IV 256, where my explanation is accepted, but Büchler's view is not quoted.

⁸ חבֵּרִין (literally: "colleagues").

⁹ In my article, *A Misunderstood Word*, JQR, NS, IV 111-114.

¹⁰ JQR, NS, IV 490. Büchler quotes עתיד הקביה לעשות צל וחושית (Lev. R. XXV 2) in support of his interpretation of *huppah* as "shade." But in this passage *zel* = "shade" is distinguished from *huppah*. For the definition of *huppah* see my article *Huppah Halanin* in 'Ozar ha-Hayim XII.

¹¹ cpr. the expressions, שורור שורור and כחור כחור (T. B. Ber. 63b, quoted by BÜCHLER), used in agadic passages.

before a sheaf ('Omer) had been offered to the Sanctuary on the second evening of Passover, might be suspended and the harvest anticipated for one of the following reasons: either because a later harvest would damage the crop, or, because space was needed for celebrating in the open field the mourning rite, called *ברכת רחבה* or, finally, because a clear field was required for the students who had no other convenient place for study and who would, otherwise, be idle (*מפני ביטול בית המדרש*). The study of Torah, in the view of the Rabbis, came before all other commandments. This halakhah clearly implies that study in the open field was customary.

A still more striking instance can be adduced from T. B. Sab. 127a:

Rabba said in R. Hiyya's name: it occurred once that Rabbi went to a certain place on the Sabbath and found that it was too small for his [numerous] disciples. He went out to the field and found it covered with sheaves.¹ Thereupon Rabbi made clear the whole field [on a Sabbath!].

In another version of the same story following immediately upon the first one, it is R. Hiyya and his disciples who are the protagonists in this incident. In the Talmud, it is explained that Rabbi (the Nasi) did not clear the field himself, but ordered his disciples to do it.

Again, in T.B. 'Erubin, 34b, it is told that when soldiers occupied all the houses in Nehardea, the seat of the renowned academy in Babylonia, R. Nahman, the head of the academy, ordered his disciples to go out into the fields and bend down the reeds in order that they might on the following day be able to sit down on the ground for the purpose of study.

Teaching in the market square is referred to in T. B. Mo'ed Qatan 16a, where it is related that "Rabbi" forbade the disciples to study in the market square.² But R. Hiyya flouted this order and taught his two nephews, Rab and Rabba bar R. Huna³, in the market square (of Sepphoris?). Rabbi's prohibition was certainly caused by political circumstances, but R. Hiyya, apparently considered that these circumstances did not justify a breach of the custom. He was severely reprimanded for his disobedience.

Finally, in one instance from Babylonia, we find a reference to study out of doors on the banks of a river. In T. B. Horayoth 12a, we read that R. Meshersheya gave to his sons the advice: "When you study, do it near flowing water⁴, for as water spreads so may your learning spread."⁵

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¹ עומרים.

² בשוק. This may also mean, "in the streets."

³ See *Rashi ad loc.*

⁴ על גורא דמא.

⁵ In the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* I 65, *sub voc.* "Academia" a picture is reproduced with the following description: "Ancient academies: Outdoor teaching as practised in Palestine and Babylonia during the Talmudic period. Neither teacher nor pupil carries notebooks, as all lessons were committed to memory. The lesson was a discourse, after which the pupils asked questions or engaged in discussion." Unfortunately, the source from which the picture was taken is not indicated, nor is any reference made in the body of the article to the particular method of teaching illustrated in the picture.

THE CONCEPTION OF REWARD IN MAT. XX, 1-16

In their "Kommentar zum Neuen Testament," H. Strack and P. Billerbeck devote a special chapter to this parable and its bearing on the conceptions of reward in the New Testament and the Old Synagogue respectively.¹ They contrast N.T. teachings as expressed in this passage with what they conceive to be the accepted views of Rabbinic Judaism. An attempt will be made in what follows to show that their conclusions are not valid for two reasons: (a) they are not borne out by evidence from the text on which they are based, and (b) Rabbinic teachings on reward are misinterpreted when different elements of the same theological conception are presented as conflicting and historically separate trends.

Strack-Billerbeck make the following three points in discussing the evidence of Mat. xx, 1-16:

(1) The question addressed to the last workers hired at the eleventh hour, "Why stand ye here all day idle?", proves that work for the Kingdom of God is considered a duty; the problem of reward does not arise at all.

(2) The question of the householder in v. 15, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?", implies that "reward for work in the Kingdom of God depends entirely on God's will." It is not based on "a legal contract between God and man whereby divine reward would correspond with human effort or work performed." It is reward purely "of grace"—κατὰ χάριν. "This is the cornerstone of the N.T. conception of reward." "Reward presupposes the performance of work by reason of which it is deserved; but the word 'to deserve' is unknown to the Evangelical Christian in his relation to God; and thus all claim to reward is removed once and for all." However often "reward" be mentioned in the N.T., it can never mean "reward κατὰ ὀφείλημα" (Rom. iv, 4), but only "reward κατὰ χάριν."

(3) The verse (xx, 16), "So the last shall be first and the first last", contains a warning. The workers hired last do not ask about a reward; they work because the householder needs them and for his sake, and they trust his sense of justice. The workers hired earlier, on the other hand, show by their complaints that they did not work for the sake of the householder, but for the sake of their own reward. Therefore, they must be satisfied with being treated according to the letter of their contract. The tendency of our parable is thus to combat the coveting of reward.

These teachings are presented by Strack-Billerbeck as a departure from the Rabbinic views current at that time. Before we examine their account of the Rabbinic teachings on reward, we must consider how far the above conclusions are justified and substantiated by the evidence of the text itself.

II.

The first point, that work for the Kingdom of God is considered an absolute duty, need not be disputed, but we shall return to it later in connection with the Rabbinic teachings.

The second point, that reward is not due to man by right but only κατὰ χάριν and depends entirely on God's will, is not substantiated by the text at all. The very fact that the simile of an employer and his employees is chosen

¹ STRACK-BILLERBECK, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament, etc.*, Munich, 1922, vol. iv, p. 484 f.

suggests, by implication, that reward is due by right and is comparable to the wages payable to a worker on the basis of a legal contract. The choice of this simile was by no means inevitable; the simile of a master and his slaves would have been a more obvious one had the object been to present reward as purely a gift of grace. Nor is this choice accidental, as it proves to be in complete accordance with the practice of the Midrash, which almost invariably discusses questions of reward in the form of parables of employers and workers.² Moreover, the conception that reward due to man is like a labourer's wages is implicit in the word commonly in use for it; in Hebrew it is *śākhār*, which denotes reward in the O.T. as well as in post-Biblical literature³; in the N.T. the corresponding word used in numerous places is μισθός.⁴ Both of them denote, in the first place, "wages" or "hire," that is, payment due for work done or value received; only in a secondary sense are they used for "reward" or "recompense." This usage can be understood only on the assumption that, to the Jewish mind, divine recompense could be easily associated with, and expressed in terms of, "payment for work done." Far from being a departure from the current Jewish conception of reward as due by right, the passage in Matthew is actually conceived in the spirit, and written in the style, of this very same tradition.

The question of the householder, "Is it not lawful for me to do what I will with mine own?", does not, in the context, suggest that it is left entirely to the employer to determine the wages he will pay to his workers. In fact, the parable does not question for a moment his duty to pay them as much as had been agreed upon; if anything of the sort were suggested it would indeed make complete nonsense of the simile. The point at issue is not the right of the employer to withhold any part of the agreed wages, but his right to add to those wages. With regard to such additional payment, the parable suggests, he can do as he pleases; for this is no longer a matter of legal claim but of his generosity.

It was, in fact, quite common for employers to pay their workers more than the wages agreed upon, as a kind of bonus or as a sign of their satisfaction with the work done. This is frequently referred to not only in Midrashic texts⁵, but also in Tobit⁶, a source which can be expected to reflect the conditions of actual life. The Midrashic passages are closely similar to our text not only in that they too refer to additional payments made to workers, but also in that they contain the feature that such payment is made only to some of the workers, to the annoyance of the others who receive no more than their due.

It is the intention of the parable, then, to state that God will sometimes reward man in excess of what is his due, but certainly not to suggest that he will ever deny him his due reward. This becomes clear beyond doubt when we consider the context. This parable is occasioned by Peter's question in Mat. xix, 27 as to what reward the disciples can expect for having forsaken all and followed Jesus. The reply to the question is twofold: firstly, in verses 28-29, the disciples are assured that everyone who has forsaken anything for Jesus' sake "shall receive a hundredfold and shall inherit everlasting life"; secondly,

² e.g. Rabbi Tarfon's parable in *Aboth* ii, 20 and 21 and *Sifre*, Lv. xxvi, 9. Other examples quoted by STRACK-BILLERBECK, *ibid.* p. 492 f.

³ See *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, s.v. שכר.

⁴ See GRIMM-THAYER, *Greek-English Lexicon of the N.T.*, s.v. μισθός.

⁵ e.g. *Deut. R.*, vi 2; *Lev. R.* xxiv.

⁶ Tobit ii mentions that, in addition to her wages, Anna received a kid for her spinning. In Tobit v, Tobit employs a travelling companion for his son at a drachma a day, in addition to which he promises "to add something to his wages" when they return safe and sound.

in v. 30, it is stated that "many that are first shall be last, and the last shall be first." In view of the preceding verses this cannot possibly mean that the "first" shall not receive their full reward, but only that the "last" may receive more than their due. It is precisely this point which the parable intends to illustrate (see xx, 16); and this is exactly the situation presented in it, viz.: that the first workers receive their dues, while the last ones receive more.

There is no evidence, then, to show that this text holds reward to be due to man not by right, but only *κατὰ χάριν*; all the evidence, as far as this particular N.T. passage is concerned, points the opposite way. God's charity or grace is presented as concerning the addition that He may choose to make to the expected reward.

III.

Strack-Billerbeck's third point, that the superior virtue of the last workers is demonstrated by the fact that they do not mention the question of wages at all but rely on the sense of justice of the householder, appears to be based on a misconception of the legal position. The assumption seems to be that the last workers, having stipulated no wages, are not entitled to any payment except through generosity on the part of the employer. This is, however, far from being the true position. For one thing, these workers have received an explicit promise from the householder that "whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive" (v. 7). But quite apart from this, according to talmudic law, to which everyday practice in such matters undoubtedly conformed on the whole in Palestine during the first centuries of the Christian Era, a worker is entitled to payment even in the absence of any definite agreement. According to a Baraita¹, (a source, in its present form, certainly not later than the second century C.E.) an employer who has promised his workers to pay them "like another one or two of the workers in town," must pay them the average wage customary in his locality. Moreover, where workers went to work in a field without the agreement or knowledge of the owner, they could claim payment from him to the extent of the benefit he received from their work². The Gemara assumes throughout that, where workers were employed without a clear-cut agreement on the amount of wages, they could claim the wages customary in their locality³. It appears to have happened frequently that no wages were stipulated, as both parties relied on this practice⁴. "Since, in Jewish law, any work benefiting a certain party must be paid for by that party even if performed without the latter's knowledge and consent, the question of an express engagement is of importance only in as far as it concerns the exact amount to be paid⁵."

It becomes clear from the above that, according to talmudic law, most of which is based on tannaitic sources and all of which is unanimous, a worker had the right to expect wages, even if he had not stipulated them. In our case, the amount payable for one hour's work is so negligible that the workers can well afford to leave it to the owner's generosity as to how much exactly he will pay them, as in any case he is legally bound to give them some remuneration. It is, therefore, entirely without foundation to suggest that these last workers are unconcerned for their wages and show, thus, a deeper understanding of the duty to work than the others. Such an argument loses all its force when it is realised that the workers were legally entitled to the payment of wages even in the absence of a formal stipulation.

It follows from these considerations that Strack-Billerbeck are not justified when they conclude from our passage that reward is purely of grace and depends

¹ T.B. Baba Mez. 87a.

² Tosefta Baba Mez., vii, 1.

³ T.B. Baba Mez., 76a.

⁴ See note 5, p. 86; also *Tanḥuma* תנחומא 19b.

⁵ I. HERZOG, *The Main Institutions of Jewish Law*, London 1936, vol. ii, p. 167.

entirely on God's will. On the contrary, our text suggests that divine reward is comparable to labourer's wages, for which there certainly exists a legal, not to say a moral, claim. God, by His grace, will however grant additional reward to some of the deserving; and the parable certainly appears to suggest that such an additional reward is most likely to be granted to those who understand that it is their duty to work for the Kingdom of God without undue concern for the reward they may receive.

IV.

Strack-Billerbeck contrast their conclusions from this parable with the teachings of the "Old Synagogue." The rabbinic point of view is presented by them in the following manner:

The Synagogue, too, had had as its starting point the conception of the categorical duty of the Israelite to work for God; this duty arose from the obligation of gratitude imposed on Israel by the redemption from Egypt. From this point of view the relationship between God and Israel was frequently compared to that of master and slave, under which there exists no claim whatsoever for reward. Thus we find some sources in "old-rabbinical literature" where reward is presented as being purely by grace.

This position was, however, abandoned by the Synagogue and replaced by the conception of reward by desert; any merit brings with it a claim for reward. Man and God are partners with equal rights: man produces his meritorious effort; God recognises it and pays out the reward due to him. This clearly means that reward now is conceived to be *κατὰ ὀφειλῆμα*.

This attitude, naturally, produced among the broad masses of the people a craving for reward which became the main motive of their religious actions. This tendency the Rabbis tried to curb by stressing the significance of purity of motive, etc., but without much success.

There can be no doubt that all these ideas are to be found in Rabbinic literature, and Strack-Billerbeck produce a wealth of evidence for every one of their points. What they fail, however, to substantiate is their assumption that these ideas succeeded one another in the way indicated, that is to say, that the first stage was a conception of reward *κατὰ χάριν*, which was abandoned in favour of a conception of reward *κατὰ ὀφειλῆμα*, which in turn led to such a corruption of the people that the Rabbis had to oppose it by pointing out the value of the good deed as such without a thought of reward.

It appears to us that no evidence has been produced to show that all these views were not held simultaneously, though individual Rabbis may have stressed the one aspect or the other. The general conception of the Synagogue may be summarised in the following way: Man—or Israel—is in duty bound to work for God; yet he is assured of his due reward, which, however, never ought to be his primary motive. There may be a certain inconsistency in this composite view, but we are dealing not with a well-developed system of theological thought, but only with a broad popular conception expressed in many disconnected, aphoristic sayings. It is certainly not unusual for widely-held religious views to contain an element of inconsistency or even of paradox. Besides, many of the sayings under consideration are expressed in parables or metaphors and cannot always be pressed to their logical conclusion.

We shall discuss only a few of Strack-Billerbeck's examples in order to prove that there is no chronological sequence of different conceptions, but that they were all held and taught concurrently and simultaneously. We shall give examples taken from the first two chapters of Mishnah Aboth, the whole

of which was certainly edited by the end of the second century C.E., while the major part of it may have been compiled and taught already in the first half of that century.¹ These teachings, which were undoubtedly almost universally known and enjoyed a considerable authority, are, therefore, roughly contemporary with the text in Mat. xx, though both, presumably, go back to older sources.

Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Zakkai's (about 80 C.E.) saying in Aboth ii, 9: "If thou hast learnt much Torah ascribe not any merit to thyself, for for this wast thou created" is quoted by Strack-Billerbeck² in support of their first "stage," when the Rabbis taught that reward was *κατὰ χάριν*, and this in spite of its late date. Rabbi Tarfon's (about 100 C.E.) saying in Aboth ii, 20 is also quoted³ in support of this conception, but, strangely enough, it is overlooked that Rabbi Tarfon, while emphasising the duty to work, also stresses the certainty that the reward will be paid out duly. "The day is short and the work is great, and the labourers are sluggish, and the reward is much, and the master of the house is urgent. It is not thy duty to complete the work, but neither art thou free to desist from it . . . and faithful is thy employer to pay thee the reward of thy labour." There can be no doubt that this parable, based once again on the comparison with the employer and his workers, implies that reward is due by right, and yet it is stressed: "thou art not free to desist from the work." Here we have an instance of both views being held simultaneously, logically incompatible though they may be. In fact, Strack-Billerbeck⁴ quote this very same saying again as evidence that the Synagogue abandoned its original idea of reward *κατὰ χάριν*! On the other hand, Antigonos of Sokho (as early as the second century B.C.E.) in Aboth i, 3 is quoted in support of the third "stage"⁵, when the Rabbis had to issue warnings against the over-emphasis on reward. It is also noteworthy that Strack-Billerbeck argue⁶ that the original conception of Israel's absolute duty to work for God is often expressed by the simile of master and slave, yet we find this simile here in Antigonos' saying side by side with Rabbi Tarfon's simile of the labourer, without, apparently, either the editor of Aboth or numerous generations of subsequent readers ever discovering a discrepancy between them.

This, we believe, may be sufficient to show that there is no foundation for Strack-Billerbeck's attempt to separate the Rabbinical teachings on reward into different historical strata. All of them co-exist side by side. No contradiction was felt by either Rabbi Tarfon or the editor of Aboth in presenting both views—that of man's duty to work for God and that of his right to expect reward—at one and the same time.

Returning now to our passage in Mat. xx, we can say with assurance that its views on the question of reward coincide completely with current Jewish teaching of the same period. We are not concerned here with departures from those views contained elsewhere in the N.T. But as far as this particular passage is concerned, it is fully in line with contemporary Jewish conceptions both in form and in its main thesis, viz.: that man is assured of the reward due to him, though he should not crave for it and should acknowledge his absolute duty to work for the Kingdom of God.

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¹ D. HOFFMANN, *Die Erste Mischnah*, Berlin 1882, p. 28f.

² Vol iv, p. 488. ³ *ibid.* p. 488a. ⁴ *ibid.* p. 492c. ⁵ *ibid.* p. 495. ⁶ *ibid.* p. 488.

GENDER IN HEBREW NUMBERS

The problem of the opposing of the genders of noun and number from three to ten in the Semitic language has not been satisfactorily solved, and another attempt to solve it may not be out of place.

In the earliest stage of the Semitic languages as revealed in extant literature the gender of the noun was not indicated by any external mark. Thus there were sometimes two distinct words for male and female, such as the Acc. *abu* "father" and *ummu* "mother" or the Hebr. חמור "he-ass" and אתון "she-ass," where the need of distinguishing the sexes was already felt; otherwise, where there was little or no such need, the masculine word served also for the feminine gender, as for example the Acc. *lahru* "sheep of either sex" and the Arab *faras* "horse, mare." This ambiguity, however, was confined almost exclusively to primitive nouns, some consisting of only two consonants and all denoting the simplest concepts.¹

At a very early period, however, the need to distinguish the genders by some external mark began to be felt, for example in the case of children and of various domestic creatures.

There already was at hand a formative element, the plosive dental *t*, which was put to similar uses not only in all the Semitic dialects but also in the Egyptian language and therefore in all probability went back to the common parent of all these languages. The primary use of this element was deictic, serving to draw attention to that to which it was prefixed or suffixed² as differing in some way from that from which it was absent: for example, the Sem. **anā* or **anākū* "I" meant originally "lo! here" while **anta* meant "lo! there," thus describing "thee" as other than "me"; and the Heb. הוּ *haec* meant simply "this (present)" while זאת *haecce* meant "this (present) here, there" as distinct from the simple or that other "this."³

The use of this element was then easily extended to distinguish other things that required to be distinguished, namely the sexes and genders,⁴ but the primary form of the noun was reserved for the male as originating while

¹ Cp. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebGr.* § 122 c-e.

² The origin and form of the *t* in עֲלִילָה (for **alilat*) and תַּעֲלִיל (though only תַּעֲלִילִים in actual use) "wanton doing(s)" is obviously the same.

³ The *t* in this form of the pronoun is not the feminine ending; for it appears in several masculine pronouns, as shown by a comparison of the Phoen. חמח with the Heb. חמח and so on.

⁴ As the Acc. masc. sing. *-u* became the plur. *-ū* by a lengthening which indicated intensity either of quality or of quantity, so the Sem. fem. *-at* was lengthened to produce the plur. *-āt* as still found in the Acc. and Aram., Arab. and Eth. languages; the Hebr. *-ōt*, however, cannot have come directly from *-at* (KAUTZSCH-COWLEY, *HebGr.* § 80 f; cp. g) but must have been derived from the primitive *-āt* through the normal obscuring of *ā* into *o* in the Canaanite dialects (Harris *Can. Dial.* 43-5). This is yet another fact suggesting that Hebrew is not a primary but a secondary language (s. DRIVER *P.H.V.S.* 151-2). Forms like the Phoen. דלח = Acc. *dalāte* "doors" and Aram. שַׁמְחָה = Acc. *šumāte* "names" show clearly the origin of the *h* in this termination.

the secondary form was reserved for the female as in some way derivative;¹ so the Sem. **bin* "child; son" and **bint* "other child; daughter" or the Acc. *kalbu* "dog" and *kalbatu* "bitch" are distinguished. Thus the female was marked out as something other than or different from the male, as weak and silly in Eastern eyes,² and so the mark of this class was easily extended to indicate generally *etwas minderwertiges*³; it thus acquired two specialized functions, namely to indicate (i) diminutive and deteriorative or pejorative and (ii) collective and abstract concepts. The first of these senses is already seen in the primitive Sem. **šph* "lip," whether as a part of the **pw* "mouth" or as an organ or tool,⁴ and the Syr. *yammā* "lake" from *yammā* "sea"; the employment of this form to characterize the *nomen unitatis* as describing a single unit out of a mass is but an extension of its diminutive function. Its use as a mark of the second of these classes, as in the Hebr. אכלה "eating" with which the Arab. *'uklatu* "morsel of food" is identical in form, arose out of this same function, since the purpose of collective terms is to subsume what is too insignificant to be particularized under a common head.⁵ Finally, as collective terms expressed what comprises the sum of the individual units which they describe in bulk, so they could be used to express the sum of their qualities or the very essence of the group in abstraction, as in the Hebr. גולה "body of exiles" and "exile."

The feminine *t* then is not an original element distinguishing the female sex or feminine gender, since such primitive words as **umm* "mother" and **yad* "hand" (as contrasted with *šph* "lip") lack it; but it made its appearance at a very early stage in the development of the Semitic languages, since it was already used to mark such almost equally primitive a noun as **bint* "daughter." Its extension, however, to indicate abstract terms was a comparatively late development, since such a conception is itself obviously not primitive. These arguments, therefore, suffice to dispose of any explanation of the grammatical problem here discussed that is based on the assumption that the abstract form of the numbers with the feminine *t*-ending was original and that the construction with the masculine forms was a secondary development⁶; and other arguments adduced hereafter will incidentally support this conclusion.

Before proceeding to an explanation of the problem of opposite genders, there is urgent need to establish the facts of its antiquity and prevalence; to what extent is Zimmern,⁷ for example, justified in speaking of *die durch alle*

¹ Various examples suggest that the use of a distinctive termination for one of the genders must originally have been optional: for example, Hebr. תהום = Acc. *ti'antu* "ocean"; Hebr. אש = Acc. *išatu* "fire"; Hebr. נפש = Acc. *napištu* "throat; soul"; Hebr. כבד = Acc. *kabittu* "liver"; Phoen. דל = Acc. *daltu* and Hebr. דל or דלת "door"; possibly too the Hebr. אמן (Numb. xi, 12, J; cp. *Philo quis heres* v 20 where ὁ ἄνθρωπος stands in the text but ὁ ἄνθρωπος is recorded as a various reading) is merely an early or alternative form of אמנת (II Sam. iv, 4, Ru. iv, 16) "nursing mother."

² The Semites tended to treat what was strong as masculine and what was weak as feminine (BROCKELMANN *GVGSS*. I § 227 f; cp. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebrGr.* § 122 e).

³ Cp. BROCKELMANN *ib.* I § 277 A.

⁴ The nouns describing parts of the body were usually of the feminine gender as the person's means of expression, since the tool was regarded as inferior to the worker who used it (BROCKELMANN *GVGSS*. I § 227 b-c).

⁵ So the Gk. τέκνα "children," though neuter plural in form, is treated like the Lat. *familia* "family" as feminine singular in congruence; cp. Hebr. אבות "fathers" (s.p. 103 n. 2).

⁶ Cp. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebrGr.* 287.

⁷ In *VGSS*. 181 § 58 d.

semitische Dialekte hindurchgehende, also jedenfalls alte Erscheinung of crossed genders?

* * *

The Sumerian number¹ is an abstract noun which follows the word describing the thing numbered and most often, though not always, takes a pronominal suffix referring back to it, as in *MU-AŠ* = "year one" for "one year"; *DUMU. MAŠ-IMIN* = "son(s) twin eight" for "eight twin sons"; *UR LIMMU-BA* = "leg(s) four its" for "the four feet," while pronominal suffixes qualifying the noun follow the number, as in *ŠU-HA-NA* = "hand ten his" for "his ten hand(s)."

The number precedes the term numbered for the most part only in lists.

The earliest instances of the Semitic numbers occur almost exclusively in expressions indicating the points of the compass.²

In these expressions the number follows the noun designating the thing numbered, standing in either gender in the genitive case dependent on the noun in the construct state or in the masculine gender in apposition to it:—

- (i) In Old-Accadian texts: $\left. \begin{array}{l} ki-ib-ra-at ir-bi-ti-im^3 \\ ki-ib-ra-[a-] at ar-ba-i^4 \\ ki-ib-ra-[a-] tum ar-ba-um \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \text{"the 4 quarters"} \\ \text{"the 4 quarters"} \\ \text{"the 4 quarters"} \end{array}$
- (ii) In an Old Assyrian text: *ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im* "of the 4 quarters"⁶
- (iii) in Old-Babylonian texts: $\left. \begin{array}{l} ki-ib-ra-tu_4 ir-bi-im^7 \\ ki-ib-ra-tu_4 ir-bi-tim^8 \end{array} \right\} \text{"the 4 quarters"}$
- (iv) In Old-Babylonian texts of the first dynasty of Babylon: $\left. \begin{array}{l} ša-ar ir-bi-tim \text{"the 4 wind(s)"}^{10} \\ ki-ib-ra-at ar-ba-im^{10} \\ ki-ib-ra-at ir-bi-tim^{11} \\ ki-ib-ra-tum ar-ba-um \text{"the 4 quarters"}^{11} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{l} \\ \text{"the 4 quarters"} \\ \text{"the 4 quarters"} \\ \text{"the 4 quarters"} \end{array}$

These forms with slight variations of orthography continue till the latest period of Babylonian and Assyrian history; then a few possible instances of feminine forms of the numbers following feminine nouns in apposition to them make their appearance as in:

- kib-ra-a-ti ir-bi-it-tim*¹³ "of the 4 quarters"
- kib-ra-a-tim ir-bi-ti*¹⁴ "of the 4 quarters,"

but the decay of the force of the terminations in noun as in verb in this period make the construction in these and similar examples quite uncertain.

¹ DELITZSCH *SumGr.* 146 § 212a and POEBEL *GrSumGr.* 106-13 §§ 291-308.

² Cp. Aram. מְרָא רַבְעִי אֶרְקָא (COOKE *N-SI.* 63 3-4), Hebr. כְּבֶרֶת הָאָרֶץ (Gen. xxxv 16, xlviii 7; II Ki. v 19) and Phoen. כְּבֶרֶת מַצָּא שְׁמֶשׁ (LIDZBARSKI *Kan Inschr.* 16 1).

³ CLAY *Morgan* IV 4 3-5 with nunation instead of mimation; cp. WEIDNER *Sargons Zug* 90 R. 25 (Sargon of Agade).

⁴ BOISSIER in *RA.* XVI 161-4 O. 12 (Narâm-Sin); cp. SCHEIL *DPMém.* IV 8 6-7 (Gimil-Sin).

⁵ LEHMANN *MatGeschArmenMesop* 6-7 ii 1; cp. SCHEIL *DPMém.* II 56 ii 2-3, IV 13-4 and SMITH *ap.* GADD *Ur* I 24 3-4, 275 iii 20-22, 276 i 5-6 (Narâm-Sin).

⁶ MEISSNER in *AoB* I 2 ii 9-10 (Zariqum).

⁷ THUREAU-DANGIN in *RA.* VIII 66 i 5-6 (Ašdunerim of Kiš).

⁸ GADD *CT.* XXXVI 4 ii 12-13; cp. *ibid.* i 7-8 (Ašdunerim of Kiš).

⁹ PINCHES *CT.* VI 31a 6 (Apil-Sin).

¹⁰ *CH.* va 11-12 (Hammu-rabi) *KING LIH.* III 199-204 i 8-9, ii 34-6, iii 76-77, iv 93-4 *SMITH CT.* XXXVII 3 ii 65-6, 4 iii 117-118 (Samsu-iluna) *THUREAU-DANGIN* in *RA.* XXXIV 86-7 11-117-8; cp. *THUREAU-DANGIN* in *RA.* XXII 170-4 R. 50 (Ammi-ditana).

¹¹ *KING LIH.* III 172-5 ii 9-10 and *CH.* ii a 2 (Hammu-rabi).

¹² POEBEL *PBS.* V 36 R. iv 13-14 (Hammu-rabi).

¹³ HAGEN in *BASS* II 210₃₀ (Cyrus).

¹⁴ BURROWS *ap.* GADD *Ur* I 307 i 6 (Cyrus?).

This construction continues to be used down the ages, but is very rare except in expressions of direction or imitations of them :

- (i) In an Old-Babylonian text : *pa-a-at ir-bi-it-tam* (for *-tim*) "the 4 sides"¹
- (ii) In a Middle-Assyrian text : *ṭū-bu-qa-at ir-bit-ta* (for *-ti*) "the 4 points of the compass"²
- (iii) In Neo-Assyrian copies of early texts :
ša-a-ri ir-bit-ti "the 4 winds"³
su-ḡi ir-bit-ti "the 4 streets"⁴
- (v) In Neo-Assyrian and/or Neo-Babylonian texts :
ša-a-ri ir-bit-ti "the 4 winds"⁵
kīp-pat ir-bit-ti "the 4 regions"⁶
ba-u-lat ar-ba-i "the 4 realms"⁷

The idiom whereby the number follows the noun which it qualifies in apposition to it and of which *kibrātum arba'um* "the quarters, the four" = "the four quarters" is the earliest example, may well be the original construction with the numbers ; for this is the usual and indeed the natural order in lists of numbered objects and is found in the main cognate languages, Hebrew and Punic, Aramaic and Arabic, and is therefore as *gemeinsemitisch* as the construction with opposed genders.

The construction, however, found with *kibrāt arba'im* or *irbi'tim* "the quarters of the four" or "of the tetrad," in which the noun in the construct state precedes the number in the genitive case, appears to be unique, being restricted to this expression and imitations of it ; and it cannot, as it stands, be easily explained on logical grounds. The only possible explanation of it seems to be that it is elliptical and stands for *kibrāt irbi'ti šārē* "the quarters of the tetrad of winds" or *kibrāt arba'i ṭubuḡātī* "the quarters of the four of the points of the compass" or the like, as the case may be. Such an ellipse may well have established itself at a very early date in the case of so familiar expression.⁸ Further, ellipse occurs in other common phrases, some almost equally early in Accadian texts and others many centuries afterwards in the Arabic language, in such expressions as the Accadian : *GUD* (= *alpum*) *ša ir-bi-tim* "an ox of 4 (months),"⁹ *GIŠ APIN* (= *epinni*) *-ta.ām ir-bi-tam* (for *-tim*) "a plough with 4 (shares),"¹⁰ *ša-am-ma-mi ša ar-ba-i* "governors of the 4 (lands)"¹¹ and the Arabic *ḥamsam* "for 5 (nights)," *ḥamsatam* "for 5 (days)"¹² show ; in each case the rule of opposite genders gives a hint respecting the word omitted.¹³

Such examples of ellipse from other languages, of course, do not prove but illustrate the explanation of the Accadian phrase here offered.

¹ THUREAU-DANGIN *TMathB.* 20 I, 2.

² SCHROEDER *KAHI.* II 73 O. 9 ; cp. RAWLINSON *CIWA.* II 35 b 38-9.

³ ZIMMERN *BKBR.* 36 vii 8.

⁴ THOMPSON *CT.* XIX 27 iv 7 ; cp. FOSSEY *Magie* 256₆₁.

⁵ PEISER in *KB.* III/ ii 80 i 52.

⁶ HARPER *ABL.* V 499 O. 14 and VI 576 O.6 ; cp. STRONG in *BASS.* II 628 ii 3.

⁷ PEISER in *KB.* II 50₇₂.

⁸ The construction must not therefore be condemned off hand as a *Spielart* (VON SODEN in *ZA.* XLI 132-3), however freakish late echoes of it may be.

⁹ PINCHES *CT.* VIII 28c 10. The omitted word is not the fem. *šanāli* "years," but the masc. (*w*)*arḥē* "months" if the rule of opposite genders is applicable.

¹⁰ SCHROEDER *VaSD.* XVI 199 16. The omitted word can hardly be the fem. *lišānāti* "tongues" or *šinnāle* "teeth," but must be some other masc. word, unguessed or unknown.

¹¹ WINCKLER *Sarg.* 2, 98₁₄ 164₁₀₋₁₁ ; some such word as *mātāli* "lands" may be supplied.

¹² Respectively for *ḥamsa layālīn* "five nights" and *ḥamsat 'aiyām* "five days" as the genders show (WRIGHT *ArGr.* II 240).

¹³ Cp. NÖLDEKE-CRICHTON *SyrGr.* 185 *ad finem.*

The nature of this construction, however, was very soon forgotten, and pronominal suffixes were attached to the number and not to the noun which they properly determined :

- (i) In an Old-Accadian text : *ša-ar ir-bi-ti-ša* "its 4 wind(s)"¹¹
- (ii) In an Old-Babylonian text : *ša-ar ir-bi-it-ti-šu* "its 4 wind(s)"¹²
- (iii) In a Neo-Babylonian text : *ša-a-ri ir-bit-ti-šu-nu* "their 4 winds"¹³

In such forms of the idiom the suffix as it were determined the whole phrase instead of the noun alone ; for there was no other noun in the genitive case to which it could be attached.

Otherwise the number is very rarely put after the noun in apposition to it in Accadian, as it frequently is in other Semitic texts, as in *ga-ba-ri-e še-lal-ti* "3 copies"¹⁴ ; *šar-ri si-bi-ti* "7 kings,"¹⁵ which come from Middle-Babylonian texts, and in *DUMU-MEŠ* (= *māru*) *e-še-ri-it* "10 sons"¹⁶ in a Neo-Assyrian copy of an old translation of a Sumerian text. Here the order of the words may be due to the influence of the Sumerian language in which the noun normally precedes the number,¹⁷ and this may explain the few other instances of this construction in Accadian texts.

Another rare Accadian construction, which does not seem to be found in the other Semitic languages, is seen in *AN-MEŠ* (= *šamū*) *še-lal-ti-šu-nu* "the heavens, the 3 of them" for "the 3 heavens"¹⁸ ; *ma-aš-ša-ra-a-ti še-lal-ti-ši-na* "watches, the 3 of them" = "the 3 watches,"¹⁹ which, too, may be due to Sumerian influence.¹⁰

The normal Accadian practice was to put the number before the noun, usually but not invariably in the opposite gender :

- (i) In Old-Accadian texts : *sa-ma-ni ša-na-tim* "8 years"¹¹
ša-la-aš me-at-tim "3 hundred"¹²
- (ii) In the Old-Babylonian period : *ar(?)-ba a-bur-ri* "4 enclosures"¹³ ; *ša-am-ši-it qa-ni-i* "5 reeds"¹⁴ ; *si-bi-it u₄-mi-im* "7 day(s)"¹⁵ ; *si-bi mu-ši-a-tim* "7 nights"¹⁶ ; *ir-bi-tam* (for *-it*) *ša-ri* "the 4 winds"¹⁷ ; *si-bi-la* (for *-it*) *ba-bu* (for *-bi*) "7 doors"¹⁸ ;
- (iii) In Neo-Assyrian copies of early texts : *ti-il-ti u₄-me* "9 days"¹⁹ ; *še-lal-ti u₄-me* "3 days"²⁰ ; *ir-bi-it-ti ša-a-ri* "4 winds"²¹ ; *ir-bil na-aš-ma-di* "4 yoked spans"²² ; *ti-še-il i-ki-i* "9 acres"²³ ; *er-ba šal-mat SAG.DU* "4 black-headed people"²⁴ ; *ir-bi sa-a-ti* "4 measures"²⁵ ; *ša-me-š sa-a-ti* "5 measures"²⁶ ; *ša-mil-ti gur-ri* "5 kors"²⁷ ; *e-še-ri-l gur-ri* "10 kors"²⁸ ; *sa-man-na u₄-mu* "8 days"²⁹ ;

¹ SCHILEICO in *Aof* V 215 (Sargon of Agade).

² KING *CT* III 2-5 i 28 and LUTZ in *UCPSP*. IX 368₁₃ ; cp. HUNGER in *LSS*. I/i 52-3 B 28. ³ PEISER *KB*. III/ii 90 ii 11. ⁴ PEISER in *KB*. III/i 162 vi 27.

⁵ RAWLINSON *CIWA*. IV 54 b 32.

⁶ LANDSBERGER *ai*. 47₄ (Sum. *DUMU-MEŠ* 10-[*AM*] = "sons ten"). ⁷ S.p. 92.

⁸ MEIER in *Aof*. XIV 142₄₈ ; cp. KING *CT*. XXXIII 90.7.

⁹ FOSSEY *Magie* 264 10 8 (Sum. *EN. NUN EŠ.ŠA-BI* = "the watches, three of them" for "the three watches"). ¹⁰ S.p. 92. ¹¹ THUREAU-DANGIN in *RA*. VIII 66 i 8-9.

¹² *Ibid.* 18-19. ¹³ WINCKLER in *KB*. III/i 130 i 20. ¹⁴ JEAN *TCL*. X 3 1.

¹⁵ THOMPSON *Gilg.* 53 ii 8. ¹⁶ SCHEIL in *RA*. XXXV 24₁₃ (in old epic-hymnic dialect).

¹⁷ LANGDON *Etana* 11₁₀ (in old epic hymnic dialect). ¹⁸ MEYER *Magl.* 37 v 83 (s. n. 4).

¹⁹ RAWLINSON *CIWA*. IV 54 b 32 ; cp. PINCHES in *PSBA*. XXVI 51-6 ii 5-9, 11 and HILPRECHT *Assyr.* 69₈₋₁₁. ²⁰ LANGDON *Creat.* 132 iv 42. ²¹ *Ibid.* 134 iv 51.

²² ZIMOLONG *S-A Vok Ass.* 523 17 ii 58 ; cp. 17 ii 43-8, 51-6 and 18 iii 10-11 ; cp. MEISSNER *AoTU*. II 53-4. ²³ VON SODEN in *ZA*. XLVII 14-15 vii 113.

²⁴ LEEPER *CT*. XXXV 7 29-32 and Clay *YBT*. I 53 iv 277.

²⁵ RAWLINSON *CIWA*. II 46 b 21-22.

²⁶ PINCHES in *PSBA*. XXVI 51-6 ii 10 ; otherwise *sa-man-ti u₄-mu* (HILPRECHT *Assyr.* 69₁₀).

- (iv) In Neo-Assyrian texts: *ša-la-ša* (for -aš) *aš-li-i* "3 cords"¹; *ir-bi zi-zi-e* "4 nipples"²; *ir-bit-ti ša-a-ri* "4 winds"³; *eš-rit ma-ḥa-zi* "10 towns"⁴; *si-bit ni-ši* "7 people"⁵; *si-bit še-li-bi* "7 foxes"⁶;

In this construction, when a pronominal suffix is required, it is attached not to the number but to the noun:

- (i) In an Old-Babylonian text: *ša-la-aš mi-it-ḥa-ra-ti-ya* "my 3 squares"⁷
 (ii) In Neo-Assyrian texts: *ir-bi rit-ti-šu-nu* "their 4 paws"⁷
ir-bi zi-zi-e-ša "her 4 nipples"⁸

The number very rarely takes a pronominal suffix anticipating the noun which it qualifies, possibly only when emphasis is required, as in

še-lal-ti-šu-nu DINGIR-MEŠ (= *ilāni*) "the 3 of them, the gods" = "the 3 gods"⁹
si-bit-ti-šu-nu DINGIR-MEŠ (= *ilāni*) "the 7 of them, the gods" = "the 7 gods"⁹.

This construction, though rare and apparently found only in Accadian translations from original Sumerian texts and therefore possibly due to Sumerian influence,¹⁰ may be compared with the corresponding Ethiopic construction as seen in *šalastihomū 'edaw* "the 3 of them, the men" = "the 3 men"¹¹, which shows that, whatever its origin may have been, it has become acclimatized in at any rate one Semitic dialect.¹²

When the noun is written as a Sumerian word, *i.e.* ideographically, the gender of the number is governed by that of the corresponding Accadian word:

eš-rit DINGIR-MEŠ (= *ilāni*) "10 gods"¹³; *ḥa-mi-iš ŠU-2-MEŠ* (= *qātē*) "5 sixths"¹⁴.

From 11 to 19 only feminine forms of the numbers seem to exist, being used therefore without regard to the gender of the noun, as in

ḥa-meš-še-rit gur-ri "15 kors"¹⁵; *iš-ten eš-rit nab-ni-ti* "the 11 creatures"¹⁶

That the unit in *iš-ten eš-rit* does not agree with the noun, as in this number in the other Semitic languages,¹⁷ is noticeable; the two numbers were probably regarded as a single compound term.

¹ THUREAU-DANGIN *TMathB.* 141 I; cp. *ibid.* 142 I 143 I and HILPRECHT *MathTabl.* 30 23, 24, 26)

² STRECK *Assurb.* 348.

³ WINCKLER *Sarg.* 72₂₂₇ 92₇₆ 130₁₀₄ 142₃₈₋₉ 154₁₁₀.

⁴ WINCKLER in *KB.* II 134 iv 145. SMITH *Senn.* 74₈₄ and LUCKENBILL *Senn.* III vii 70.

⁵ HARPER *ABL.* VI 555 R. 3-5.

⁶ THUREAU-DANGIN *TMathB.* 17 I, 18 I.

⁷ THUREAU-DANGIN *Sarg.* 12₅₈ 52₃₄₅.

⁸ JENSEN in *KB.* VI/ii 140₈.

⁹ FOSSEY *Magie* 236 6 65 (*EŠ₃-AM-NE.NE DINGIR* = "they three, gods"), 71 (*IMINA-BI DINGIR* = "seven of them, gods").

¹⁰ S.p. 92.

¹¹ PRAETORIUS *AethGr.* 127.

¹² Accadian and Ethiopic agreements as against the other Semitic languages are not uncommon, for example, in preserving *k* in pronouns of the sing. first person, in forming *eš-rā* and *eš-rā* "twenty" with the du. termination, and in forming *iqafil* and *yeqafel* for a present tense.

¹³ LANGDON *Creat.* 82 i 103.

¹⁴ PEISER *BVertr.* 126 91 5.

¹⁵ RAWLINSON *CIWA.* II 46 b 20.

¹⁶ LANGDON *Creat.* 142 iv 115.

¹⁷ Cp. *Gen.* xxxii 23 + (עשר אחד with masc. noun), II *Ki.* xxiii 36 + (אחת עשרה with fem. noun).

In the Ugaritic dialect the number always precedes the noun, now in the same and now in the opposite gender :

<i>ḥmš yrḥm</i> "5 months" ¹ ;	<i>lḥt m'at rbt</i> "3 hundred myriads" ⁸ ;
<i>ḥmš kbd</i> "5" ² ;	<i>ḥmš n'rt</i> "5 damsels" ⁹ ;
<i>lḥt sswm</i> "3 horses" ³ ;	<i>sb' bnt</i> "7 daughters" ¹⁰ ;
<i>ḥmš ymm</i> "5 days" ⁴ ;	<i>sb' šnt</i> "7 years" ¹¹ ;
<i>šdš yrḥm</i> "6 months" ⁵ ;	<i>sb't ra'sm</i> "7 heads" ¹² ;
<i>sb' ymm</i> "7 days" ⁶ ;	<i>sb't ḥdr̄m</i> "7 chambers" ¹³ ;
<i>ṭmn kkr̄m</i> "8 talents" ⁷ ;	<i>ṭmnt bn 'um</i> "8 sons of a mother" ¹⁴ .

There is one example of a compound number in *ṭmn 'šr š'urt* "18 . . ." (?),¹⁵ where the meaning and gender of the noun are uncertain.¹⁶

In the mixed Aramæo-Phœnician dialect of Arslan Tash the number precedes the noun in the opposite gender to it, as in שבע צרתי "his 7 concubines"¹⁷; שמונה אשת בל "Baal's 8 wives"¹⁷ if these phrases are thus rightly translated.

In early Aramaic inscriptions of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. the number similarly precedes the noun in the same or the opposite gender :

עשר מלכן "10 kings" ¹⁸	שבע שון "7 years" ²⁰
שבע מלכין "7 kings" ¹⁸	שבע שאן "7 ewes" ²⁰
שבע קחר "7 Kutean(s)" (?) ¹⁹	שבע בכחה "7 spinsters" ²⁰
שבע ססיה "7 mare(s)" ²⁰	שלשא מן [מ]לך "3 royal manehs" ²¹
ש[בע] שורה "7 cow(s)" ²⁰	חמשה מני מלך "5 royal manehs" ²¹

The papyri of the 5th century B.C. regularly have the number after the noun, very rarely in the same but almost always in the opposite gender :

אמן חמשה "5 cubits" ²²	כרשן חמשה "5 coins of 10 shekels" ²⁵
משכן תלתא "3 spans" ²³	שקלן שתה "6 shekels" ²⁶
שקלן . . . ארבעה "4 shekels" ²⁴	מנן עשרה "10 manehs" ²⁷

The number precedes the noun only in multiples of the hundreds, as in מאה ארבע "4 hundred"²⁸ which, being a stereotyped form, suggests that this is an old Aramaic construction.

In the Biblical dialect the genders are always opposed, but the number may

¹ VIROLLEAUD *Keret* 38₈₃₋₁.

² VIROLLEAUD *Keret* 50₈₈₈.

³ VIROLLEAUD *Keret* 38₈₄.

⁴ VIROLLEAUD in *Syr.* XIX 131 ii 5.

⁵ VIROLLEAUD in *Syr.* XXI 267₁₇.

⁶ VIROLLEAUD *Danel* 144₄₃.

⁷ *Ibid.* 79₃₄.

⁸ VIROLLEAUD in *Syr.* XIX 136 A 1.

⁹ Cp. *ibid.* A 2-17, where the forms of the numbers fluctuate so that no rule can be deduced.

¹⁰ Du BUISSON in *MélSyr.* I 422-5 i 18-19.

¹¹ RONZEVILLE in *MFOUB.* XV 237-60 xli Ab 8-9 (*Mt''l*).

¹² *Ibid.* Ab 3-8 (*Mt''l*).

¹³ COWLEY *AP.* 26 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 10 3-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 26 17; cp. 8 14; 20 15; 26 16, 17; 28 11.

¹⁶ VIROLLEAUD in *Syr.* XIX 136 A 12.

¹⁷ VIROLLEAUD in *Syr.* XXI 131₈, 10.

¹⁸ VIROLLEAUD *Danel* 186₁₈.

¹⁹ VIROLLEAUD *Keret* 38₈₉ 44₁₇₀.

²⁰ VIROLLEAUD *Anat* 12₃.

²¹ VIROLLEAUD *Anat* 50₃₉.

²² VIROLLEAUD *Keret* 34₉.

²³ POGNON *InscrSém.* 173 i 5, 8 (*Zkr*).

²⁴ *Ibid.* 26 10; cp. 26 11, *Ah.* 38.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 26 10; cp. 26 11, *Ah.* 38.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 26 10; cp. 26 11, *Ah.* 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.* 26 10; cp. 26 11, *Ah.* 38.

²⁸ *Ibid.* 26 16.

either follow the noun in apposition or precede it in the absolute or construct state:

(i) In the 4th century B.C.:

תלת...נדבכין "3 rows"¹; ארבע מאה "4 hundred"²; שבעת יעטאי "his 7 counsellors"³

(ii) In the 2nd century B.C.:

גפין ארבע "4 wings"⁴; קרנין עשר "10 horns"⁵; זמנין תלת "3 times"⁶; גברין ארבעה "4 men"⁷; תלת עלעין "3 ribs"⁸; ארבע חיון "4 beasts"⁹; ארבעה רישין "4 heads"¹⁰; שבעה עדנין "7 times"¹¹; עשרה מלכין "10 kings"¹²;

In the first of these constructions the relation between number and noun is genitival, so that שבעת יעטאי means literally "the heptad of his counsellors"; in the second the number is in apposition to the noun, so that גפין ארבע means "wings, four" and גברין ארבעה means "men, a tetrad," and in the third the number is qualified by the noun in the accusative case, so that שבעה עדנין means "a heptad in respect of times."

The construction from 11 to 19 varies with the time and place, as in

חמשת עשר מנין "15 manehs"¹³; שף עשרה וחמשה "15 (?) "¹⁴; אמן עשרה וחרין "12 cubits"¹⁵; צפירי עזין ... תרי עשר "12 he-goats"¹⁶; ירחין תרי עשר "12 months"¹⁷;

In the post-Biblical Aramaic dialects the numbers from three to ten normally follow the rule of opposite genders, although breaches of it are not uncommon. In early literature these are generally regarded, whether rightly or wrongly, as copyists' errors but in late works as due to the ignorance of their authors.¹⁸

The Syriac rule is the same, but such constructions as that of *'ešraf mādānā* "the 10 cities" are not uncommon¹⁹; and the Christian-Palestinian Version of the New Testament has *hmes̄ lhem* and *hmeštē lahmā* "(the) 5 loaves" within a few verses of one another.²⁰

In Phœnician and Punic texts the number precedes or follows the noun in the opposite gender:

(i) Phœnician: שלשת בן מריהי "the 3 sons of Maryehiy"²¹

(ii) Punic:

עשרת האשם	"the 10 men" ²²
כסף חמשת	"5 (pieces of) silver" ²³
כסף עשרת	"10 (pieces of) silver" ²³
רבע שלשת	"3 quarter(s)" ²³
נככת ארבע	"4 molten vessels" ²⁴

On the Moabite Stone there is only one instance of a simple unit, namely

¹ *Ezr.* vi 4.

² *Ibid.* vi 7.

³ *Ibid.* vii 14.

⁴ *Dan.* vii 6.

⁵ *Ibid.* vi 11, 14; cp. iii 24, vi 3.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii 25.

⁷ *Ibid.* vii 7; cp. 20, 24.

⁸ *Ibid.* vii 5.

⁹ *Ibid.* vii 3; cp. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vii 6; cp. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.* iv 13, 20, 22, 29.

¹² *Ibid.* vii 24.

¹³ In *CIS.* II/i 2 1 c (Nineveh; 8th-7th cent. B.C.).

¹⁴ *Cowley AP.* 26 11 (Egypt; 5th cent. B.C.).

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 26 10 (*do.*)

¹⁶ *Ezr.* vi 17 (Palestine; 4th cent. B.C.).

¹⁷ *Dan.* iv 26 (Palestine; 2nd cent. B.C.).

¹⁸ Nöldeke *MandGr.* 347 and Schlesinger *SatzlAramSprBTalm.* 93-5.

¹⁹ Nöldeke-Crichton *SyrGr.* 97.

²⁰ *Matth.* xiv 17, 19.

²¹ In *CIS.* I/i 110-2 93 4 (Cyprus).

²² Lidzbarski *ESE.* III 58₆ (Tunisia).

²³ In *CIS.* I/i 224-6 165 3, 5, 9, 11 (Marseilles).

²⁴ *Ibid.* 269 175 1 (Carthage).

שבעת אלף ג' "7 thousand men,"¹ in which the rule of opposite genders is observed. The only Hebrew example outside the Old Testament, which has been subjected to the harmonizing activities of the Massoretes, namely שלש אמה "3 cubits"² on the inscription by the Pool of Siloam, dated towards the end of the 8th century B.C., has opposite genders.

In the Old Testament the number may follow the noun in the absolute state or precede it in the absolute or construct state, in either case normally in the opposite gender:

בנות שלוש	"3 daughters" ³
פרים עשרה	"10 bulls" ⁴
שלש אמות	"3 cubits" ⁵
שלשה אנשים	"3 men" ⁶
שלש מאות	"3 hundred" ⁷
שלש ימים	"3 days" ⁸

Of these the first construction is especially common in lists and enumerations; but all three constructions occur in all periods.

This rule has only very few exceptions, namely,

[מ] שלש חדשים	"3 months" ⁹
שלש נשי בניו	"his sons' 3 wives" ¹⁰
שלש ככרות לחם	"3 loaves of bread" ¹¹
שלש אחיותיהם	"their 3 sisters" ¹²
ארבעת כנפות הארץ	"the 4 corners of the land" ¹³
שבעה עינים	"7 eyes" ¹⁴
שבעה מוצקות	"7 pipes" ¹⁵

which come from tolerably early as well as moderately late texts; but the variant readings in two of them suggest what the Massoretes may have done to get rid of many other examples of a supposed grammatical anomaly.¹⁶

The explanation of these diverse constructions, in so far as it is not self-evident, must be sought in the corresponding Arabic idiom. In the first case noun and number are in apposition, as *banāt^{um} talāṭ^{at}* = בנות שלוש "daughters, three"; and *rijāl^{um} talāṭ^{at}* = אנשים שלשה "men, a triad" show. In the second the number is in the construct state and the noun in the genitive case, as *talāṭ^{at} nisā^ʾ* = שלש נשים "three women"; and *talāṭ^{at} banīn^{um}* = שלש בנים "a triad of sons" show. In the third, the number is in the absolute state with the noun in the accusative case qualifying it, as *ḥamsat^{um} 'aṭwāb^{um}* = חמשת חלפות שער "five in respect to changes of raiment"¹⁷ as compared with *ḥamsat^{um} 'aṭwāb^{um}* "five in respect to changes of raiment"¹⁸ shows. The retention of the case-endings, lost in Hebrew but preserved in Arabic, makes the nature of each of these constructions perfectly clear.

From 11 to 19 the ten has the same gender as the noun, but the unit: (i) from 11-12, while in the same gender, is put either in the construct state,¹⁹ as in

¹ COOKE *N-SI.* I 1 16. ² *Ibid.* 15 2 2. ³ *I Chron.* xxv 5. ⁴ *Gen.* xxxii 16 (JE).

⁵ *Ezek.* xl 48, xli 22. ⁶ *Gen.* xviii 2 (J); cp. *Gen.* vi 10 (P) and *Exod.* ii 2 (E).

⁷ *Gen.* v 22, vi 15, ix 28 (P), and xlv 22 (J).

⁸ *Gen.* xxx 36 (J), xl 18 (E), and *Lev.* xii 4 (P).

⁹ *Gen.* xxxviii 24 (JE), where there is a variant שלש (Sam.). Or is not משלש a distinct noun meaning *triduum* (LAMBERT *TrGrHebr.* 215^b), which also gets rid of the difficulty of the two prepositions (SPURRELL *Genesis*³ 314)?

¹⁰ *Gen.* vii 13 (P). ¹¹ *I Sam.* x 3. ¹² *Jb.* i 4 (var. שלש). ¹³ *Ezek.* vii 2 (Q) (ארבע).

¹⁴ *Zech.* iii 9. ¹⁵ *Ibid.* iv 2. Or does מוצקות come from מוצק (LAMBERT *opcit.* 215^b)?

¹⁶ In several of these instances, although the number is always in the fem. form, the form of the noun always suggests a masc. sing. noun, which may account for the unusual gender of the number.

¹⁷ WRIGHT *ArabGr.*³ II 234-5.

¹⁸ *Gen.* xlv 22 (JE).

¹⁹ This construction is very rare with שני and שתי (KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebrGr.* § 97d).

"11 stars"¹; "11 cities"²; "12 men"³; "12 stones"⁴ or in the absolute state,⁵ as in "12 men"⁶; "12 years"⁷;

(ii) from 13 to 19, while in the opposite gender, is similarly put either in the construct state,⁸ as in "13 years"⁹; "15 years"¹⁰; "17 years"¹¹; "18 thousand men"¹²; "19 years"¹³;

or in the absolute state, as in "13 rams"¹⁴; "14 days"¹⁵; "15 days"¹⁶; "16 bases"¹⁷; "17 days"¹⁸; "18 thousand"¹⁹; "19 days"²⁰;

There are no examples of this last construction with feminine nouns, and this raises a doubt whether it is a genuine tradition or due to the Massoretes having modernized what were originally construct forms in ה: —as though they were archaic absolute forms in ה: —by substituting ה: for it.

The normal feminine עשרה does not occur in compound numbers except in "15 shekels,"²¹ which is almost certainly corrupt.

The Arabic numbers from three to ten are regularly put in the opposite gender to that of the noun which they qualify and therefore do not here require illustration or discussion.²²

The Ethiopic numbers, when correctly used, obey the same law,²³ as in *hāms hebset* "5 loaves,"²⁴ *hāmsset 'edāw* "5 men,"²⁵ but the rule is often disregarded, as in *hāmsset maktūt* "5 talents."²⁶ Such laxity, however, is characteristic of Ethiopic grammar.²⁷

With pronominal suffixes only feminine forms of the numbers apparently occur in Accadian texts, and the same phenomenon appears in the Hebrew Bible, which has only שלשתם "you three"²⁸; שלשתם "they three"²⁹; ארבעתם "they four,"³⁰ all with masculine suffixes, but this is probably in both cases a pure accident, due to the extreme paucity of examples; for there are abundant Arabic examples of pronominal suffixes not only with these but also with the masculine forms, such as *ḥalātunā* "we three (women)"³¹; *'arba'tuhum* "they four (men),"³² where the genders of number and pronoun are opposed to each other. So, too, Aramaic and Syriac masculine numbers take masculine suffixes in reference to subjects of the same gender, for example:

Bibl. Aram.	תלתון ³³	} "they three"
Targ. Aram.	תלתיהון ³⁴	
Syr.	tlāṭayhōn ³⁵	

all in reference to men. The Ethiopic masculine numbers may similarly take

¹ Gen. xxxvii 9 (P).

² Josh. xv 51 (P).

³ Ibid. iii 12 (J).

⁴ Ibid. iv 3 (J).

⁵ Clearly שנים and שתים are in origin absolute, not construct, forms; they are probably vocalised on the analogy of the Aram. תרין תרין (s. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebrGr.* § 97e).

⁶ Deut. i 23, Josh. iv 2 (E).

⁷ Gen. v 8 (P).

⁸ Such feminine forms as חמשת עשר and שמונה עשר, which are very rare (s. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebrGr.* § 97e) may be Aramaisms (s.pp. 96-97).

⁹ Gen. xiv 4 (?), xvii 25 (P).

¹⁰ Gen. v 10 (P).

¹¹ II Sam. xix 18; cp. Jud. viii 10.

¹² Gen. xxxvii 2 (P).

¹³ Jud. xx 25.

¹⁴ Gen. xi 25 (P).

¹⁵ Numb. xxix 13 (P).

¹⁶ Exod. xii 6 (P).

¹⁷ Lev. xxiii 6 (P).

¹⁸ Exod. xxvi 25 (P).

¹⁹ Gen. vii 11 (P).

²⁰ I Sam. viii 13, I Chron. xii 31, xviii 12.

²¹ II Sam. ii 30.

²² Ezek. xlv 12.

²³ WRIGHT *ArabGr.* I 254-5, II 234-43.

²⁴ DILLMAN-CRITCHON *EthGr.* 486-9.

²⁵ Matth. xiv 17.

²⁶ Gen. xlvii 2.

²⁷ Matth. xxv 14.

²⁸ DILLMAN-CRITCHON *opcit.* 477-9.

²⁹ Numb. xii 4, Ezek. xl 10+.

³⁰ Ezek. i 18+.

³¹ WRIGHT *ArabGr.* II 234.

³² Dan. iii 23.

³³ Numb. xii 4 (Jon.), Ezek. xli 6 (Onq.).

³⁴ NÖLDEKE-CRITCHON *SyrGr.* 97.

pronominal suffixes, as for example: 'ašrōn or 'ašrīhōn "they ten,"¹ while the rule of opposite genders is regarded or disregarded at will, as in šalastīhōmū "they three (men)"¹; šalastīhōn "they three (women),"¹ where a feminine form of the number is accompanied by suffixes of either gender.

* * *

If the argument set out above regarding the origin of the feminine termination and the development of its use is correct, the terms denoting the numbers must originally have been masculine in form, namely without any special termination; the feminine forms will represent a subsequent development in view not only of the actual addition of this termination but also of the comparatively late force, namely that of indicating an abstract or collective conception, which it has as attached to them. The simple always precedes the complex: forms without inflections precede inflected forms and concrete precede abstract concepts. The priority of the masculine forms is further attested by the fact that it alone is used in forming compound numbers, such as the Acc. šalāšērū "thirteenth" and irbīšērū "fourteenth"² and the common Semitic forms for the cardinal numbers from twenty to ninety.³

An examination of the known instances of the numbers in the pre-Christian Semitic languages does not disprove the priority of the masculine over the feminine forms. Both are found equally distributed in the earliest texts. There are also not a few examples of masculine numbers with masculine nouns and very few of feminine numbers with feminine nouns. These exceptions, even if they are sometimes merely accidental breaches of the supposedly universal rule of opposite genders from three to ten, are at other times too numerous to be regarded as authors' or copyists' errors; this is notably the case in the Ugaritic texts and possibly also in the Aramaic inscription of Zkr, although its brevity makes certainty impossible. The only reasonable conclusion is that masculine numbers were once used with nouns of either gender, that this practice lingered on here and there, but that the feminine form gradually displaced it with masculine nouns. The reason for this change of idiom must now be sought.

The old view⁴ was that the primary form of the numbers was an abstract noun in the feminine gender, distinguished as such by the termination of that gender, and that this form was originally prefixed in the construct state to the noun which it qualified, then came to be used in apposition to it and finally was placed as an adjective after it. The consequence of the appositional and finally of the adjectival construction was that a special shorter or masculine form was created for use with feminine nouns whilst the original longer forms were reserved for use with masculine nouns. No reason, however, is given to explain why, when this new masculine form was created, it was used as an adjective only with feminine nouns nor why the old feminine form was used only with masculine nouns; the opposite course would be expected. If, however, the priority of forms without, to those with, terminations is accepted,

¹ PRAETORIUS *AethGr.* 127.

² JENSEN *KB.* VI/i 78 ii 7 = KNUDTZON *A-T.* 357 73 (s. VON SODEN in *ZA.* XLI 132).

³ Whether the *t* in the Hebr. ארבעתים "fourfold" and שבעתים "sevenfold" is the feminine ending and not [rather] connected with the Sum. *TA. AM* or a misunderstood accusative termination (s. TORCZYNER *ESS.* I 97-127) is uncertain.

⁴ Cp. KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebrGr.* 286-7.

any view based on the supposed priority of the feminine over the masculine forms of the numbers becomes untenable.

This view was succeeded by another¹ based also on the assumption that the earliest form of the number was an abstract term put in the construct state before the noun numbered, which then depended on it in the genitive case; but this original abstract form was not the feminine but the masculine, from which also the forms of the numbers from twenty to ninety were derived—for example **asrūn* "ten," whence **išrūnā* "twenty" was derived. The feminine abstract number was first distinguished by a special form in the numbers from eleven to nineteen, where **ašratūn* "decade" indicated the tens; this abstract term, however, which on account of its resemblance to proper names of similar form was regarded not as triptote,² like most nouns, but as diptote,³ was put in the genitive case after the term denoting the unit which stood in the construct state. Thus **ṭalātū* **ašratā*, which became by vowel-harmony **ṭalātā* **ašratā* "the three of the decade,"⁴ was coined to express "thirteen"⁵. This complex term, however, inasmuch as it ended with the feminine termination, was soon thought proper for use only with feminine nouns, with which it seemed naturally to agree in gender, and a corresponding masculine form was invented for use with masculine nouns; this was **ṭalāṭatū* **ašratā* which became by analogy *ṭalāṭatā* **ašratā* "the three of the ten"⁶ = "thirteen." In other words, so long as **ṭalātū* **ašratā* was felt to mean "the three of the decade," the gender of the following noun made no difference to that of the number; but, when the consciousness of the original sense of the combination grew weak and the connection between the units and the tens came to be felt as copulative rather than genitival, it seemed proper to restrict the feminine numbers to use with feminine nouns and new forms were invented for both tens and units as masculine numbers in use with masculine nouns. Thus the mas. fem. *šelōš-ʿesreh* was confined to feminine nouns while the fem. mas. *šelōšāh-ʾāšār* took over its functions with masculine nouns, and so an externally feminine *šelōš-ʿesreh* seemed to agree with feminine nouns and an externally masculine *šelōšāh-ʾāšār* with masculine nouns; for only the termination of the final element was *ex hypothesi* taken into account. Thus the rules of grammatical concord were, at any rate superficially, satisfied. In these compound forms, however, masculine unit went with feminine decade and *vice versa*, and this distinction of gender was subsequently extended to the numbers from three to ten; and, after the extension of these new formations to the numbers from three to ten, the later feminine forms readily came to be used also in the construct genitival relation on the analogy of the earlier masculine forms.

This explanation of the rule of opposite genders, too, is unsatisfactory for several reasons. First, although **ṭalātū* **ašratā* is intelligibly and reasonably explained, it evades the problem why unit and decade in **ṭalāṭat* **ašratā* are put in opposite genders; for analogy can hardly be extended so far and polarity

¹ RECKENDORF *ap.* KAUTZSCH-COWLEY *HebrGr.* 287-8 and BROCKELMANN *GVGSS* II 274-5.

² Ending in -u in the nom. and -a in the acc. and -i in the gen. case.

³ Ending in -u in the nom. and -a in the acc. and gen. cases.

⁴ Hence the classical Arab. *ṭalātā* **ašratā* "thirteen."

⁵ A tradition of similar masculine forms for use with masculine nouns lingers in the Syriac grammarians (NÖLDEKE-CRITCHTON *SyrGr.* 95-6).

⁶ Hence the classical Arab. *ṭalāṭatā* **ašratā* "thirteen." As the Sem. **aḥadā* **ašratā* became the Arab. **aḥadā* **ašratā* by the assimilation of the second to the first noun, so **ašratā* became **ašratā* by analogy in all the following numbers from twelve to nineteen.

merely describes a phenomenon without explaining it.¹ Second, the assumption that the rule of opposite genders was extended from the units to the decades is against analogy, which suggests that the rare may be assimilated to the common but that the common is rarely influenced by the rare; for the units in the natural course of events occur very frequently, while the decades are comparatively rare.

In lists the number might precede the noun, as commonly in Sumerian and Accadian texts, or follow it, as the Aramaic papyri from Egypt have it²; this distinction therefore affords no criterion for establishing the priority of any construction found with the numbers, but it may prove a different point. In the latter position the number demonstrably could not be in the construct state but was obviously in the absolute state; in the former it would by analogy be expected to be similarly in that state. Probably, therefore, the Acc. *kibrātum arba'um*, the Aram. *אמן חמשה* and *מנן עשרה*, and the Hebr. *שלוש* and *כנות שלושה* on the one hand and *שלוש אמות* on the other, with which various constructions in the cognate languages may be classed if the number is in the absolute and not the construct state, represent the primitive construction. The absolute form, however, in this last construction would easily pass into the construct state; the actual forms were not always distinguishable in speech or script³ and the idea that the number was a collective noun like the Acc. *ma'du* "muchness; many" and the Acc. *kalu* = Hebr. *כל* "totality; all" would always be close at hand. This treatment of the number as a collective noun requiring to be put in the construct state as governing the noun which it qualified in the genitive case resulted by a natural development in its receiving the external mark of other collective nouns so soon as these came to be so distinguished, and here again the process of development was helped by the analogy of similar words; as *kalu* became *kullatu* "totality" and *gimru* became *gimirtu* "entirety," so for example **ašru* "ten" became **ašratu* "decade," and the other numbers followed suit.

There is now no difficulty in seeing why masculine numbers went with feminine nouns and *vice versa*: the reason was obviously the desire or need to avoid the tautology of having both terms with a collective ending. For example, as **talālatum* > *šlōšet* was a collective and abstract term meaning "group of three, triad" and *niswatum* > *nāšōt*⁴ similarly meant a "group of women, womanhood," so **talālat* *niswat* and *šlōšet nāšōt* would mean "a group of three, a triad of, group(s) of women" rather than "of (individual) women." Such a redundant and indeed misleading form of expression was avoided by continuing the use of the non-collective forms of the numbers with collective

¹ For example, saying that the masc. sing. *אב* has the fem. plur. *אבות* in consequence of polarity (BERGSTRÄSSER *HebGr.* II 5-6) describes but does not explain the phenomenon, and saying that it is due to the analogy of *אם* which makes *אמות* (BAUER & LEANDER, *HGrHSpr.* I 515), leaves the question why the common *אבות* should owe its form to the rare *אמות* and not *vice versa* unexplained. So the classical *posse* gave way to the medieval *potere* "to be able" on the analogy of the vast bulk of infinitive forms in the Latin jargon of the Middle Ages.

² The natural thing to expect in lists would perhaps be that the noun would precede the number (cp. *Gen.* xxxi 15, 16) unless the same number ran through several successive entries, when it would be likely to precede the noun. When written as ciphers, the numbers normally preceded the noun in Sumerian and Accadian texts, but followed it in Aramaic texts (e.g., COWLEY *AP.* 22, 24, 72, 81, 83).

³ Thus **sb'* "seven" and **ts'* "nine" generally have the same form in the absolute and construct state. Further, the distinction between the absolute and construct forms in the O.T. often rests only on Massoretic tradition.

⁴ A Mishnaic form used only with pron. suffixes (LEVY *NeuhCWib.* III 446) but employed here as exhibiting the normal fem. ending.

nouns, so that **ṭalāt niswat* "three of a group of women" = "three women" became the norm. This usage was naturally extended to all nouns which were collective by nature, even though they had no typically collective termination; hence, too, *šēlōš nāšōt* "three of women" = "three women"¹ became the correct idiom. At the same time the collective forms of the numbers were restricted to use with nouns which had not the collective termination; thus **ṭalāt banim* "three of sons" gave place to **ṭalātat banim* "a triad of sons" in accordance with the increasing sense of collectivity in numerical expressions. This usage, too, was extended by false analogy to nouns which, although they denoted naturally masculine objects, still took the feminine collective instead of the masculine plural termination to indicate number; hence *šēlōšet 'ābōt* "a triad of fatherhood, fathers" was preferred in spite of the absurdity of the expression, as the origin of *'ābōt* had been long forgotten.²

The Acc. *šalāšērū* "thirteenth" and *irbīšērū* "fourteenth" have the appearance of being composed of two masculine forms of numbers, and this fact suggests that the primitive forms of the tens must have been similarly composed, namely **ṭalāt-ʿašar* "thirteen" and **arba-ʿašar* "fourteen"; these would originally be used with nouns of either gender. There are indeed very few numbers from eleven to nineteen in early texts, but the Ugar. *ṭmn šr š'urt* "eighteen . . . (?) " seems to support this supposition.³ However this may be, the argument in favour of the priority of forms without the feminine ending over those with it are as applicable to the teens as to the units. No sooner, however, had the idea that the numbers were collective terms been applied to the units than it would be found applicable also to the teens. If this idea was felt so strongly, for example, in the case of **ʿašar* "ten" that its form was modified to **ʿašarat* "decade" to give it expression even when it denoted merely a simple unit, how much more would it be felt when this term was required to indicate a group of numbers as an abstract conception! For **ṭalāt ʿašar* "the three of the ten," whatever its origin may have been, would be most easily explained as meaning "the three of the decade," or "the third number of the decade"; these concepts would then be thought to be properly expressed respectively as **ṭalāt-ʿašarat* or **ṭalātat-ʿašar*, both forms of expression to which the new abstract or collective terms with the feminine termination would readily lend themselves.⁴ In such compound expressions the unit was the *nomen regens*, while the decade was only the *nomen rectum*, and gave

¹ As the Acc. *nišu* meant "folk, people" in the sense of a man's whole family, kith and kin, and even of the population of a country, so the Hebr. *nāšim* as a masculine word meant originally a man's whole family, his wives and children and even his slaves, and was only gradually restricted to his women as the most important part of his household, coming then to be treated *secundum sensum* as a feminine term.

² As the Arab. *ʾaḥwat* "brothers," though used only as a collective or rather plural word, was originally a singular abstract term of the same type as the Hebr. *ʾaḥwāh* "brotherhood, fraternity," so the Hebr. *ʾābōt* "fathers" was a feminine singular term of the same type as the Acc. *abātu* "fatherhood, paternity," namely a singular abstract term used with originally collective but ultimately plural force. In the same way a primitive Sem. **aḥawal* became the Hebr. *ʾāḥōt* "sister," which is a sing. and not a plur. form.

³ S.p. 96 n. 16.

⁴ The Hebr. *ʿāsārāh* used alone as a simple unit is a normal proto-Semitic type of feminine noun and corresponds with the forms of the same unit in the cognate languages. The Hebr. *ʿēvrēh*, however, which is used only in compound numbers, represents a peculiar type of feminine noun; such nouns do not certainly occur in Accadian and are very rare in Hebrew, only reaching their full development in Syriac and Arabic (s. BROCKELMANN GVGSS. I 410-4). If the vocalisation then of these forms can be trusted, they support the arguments for supposing that the feminine collective or abstract form of the compound numbers is posterior even to the feminine form of the simple numbers (s. BAUER & LEANDER HGHS. I 456, 502).

precision to an otherwise not fully defined abstraction; consequently it was the genders of unit and noun, not of decade and noun, that were drawn into relationship to each other, just as they had inevitably been in the case of the simple numbers and were also in that of the twenties. For, as אחד עשר כוכבים meant "one (in respect) of ten, stars" = "11 stars"¹ and שתי(ם) עשרה אבנים mean "two (in respect) of the teens, stones" = "12 stones,"² so חמש עשרה קלעים meant "five (in respect) of the teens, curtains" = "15 curtains"³ and חמשה עשר בניו meant "(number) five (in respect) of ten, his sons" = "his 15 sons"⁴, and so on. These compound numbers, then, although in appearance they agreed in gender with the noun which they qualified, in fact followed the same rules as the corresponding single numbers where the unit was in the opposite gender to the noun.

Briefly stated, then, the reason for the rule of opposite genders is the desire to avoid the cumulation of collective forms.⁵

Oxford.

G. R. DRIVER.

¹ *Gen.* xxxvii 9 (E).

² *Josh.* iv 3, 8 (J), 9 (R); I *Ki.* xviii 31.

³ *Exod.* xxvii 15 (P).

⁴ II *Sam.* xix 18.

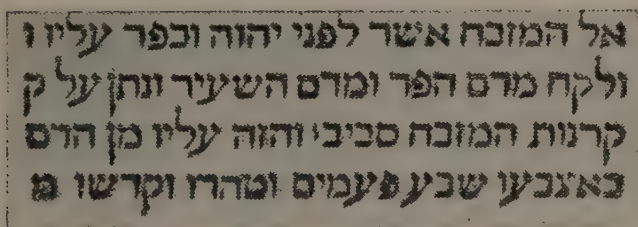
⁵ So "three brothers" or "three of a brotherhood" or "a triad of brothers," but not "a triad of a brotherhood"!

FRAGMENTS OF UNKNOWN HEBREW INCUNABLES

I. PENTATEUCH, MEGILLOTH AND HAFTAROTH, 4^{to} [Spain, 1492]

The Cambridge University Library possesses a great number of fragments of a hitherto unrecorded edition of the Pentateuch, Megilloth and Haftarothe of the Spanish rite, which came to the Library from the Cairo Genizah. They are contained in T-S. Printed Fragments, Box 14 (2-22): Pentateuch, Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Haftarothe. A few other fragments are in the Bodleian Library in Oxford: Heb. d. 83, fol. 1 and Heb. e. 87, fol. 1 (Ecclesiastes); Heb. d. 83, fol. 23 (Esther), and Heb. e. 87, fol. 2-4 (Haftarothe).

The edition is a "quarto," the text unvocalised, and there are 19 (occasionally 18) lines on a page. The elegant Spanish types of the print bear a close resemblance to the Alantansi Pentateuch:¹



The watermarks of the paper represent scales enclosed by a circle and surmounted by a star (similar to Briquet, No. 2563), or by feathers (similar to Briquet, No. 2590), and, occasionally, scissors.

The colophon of this edition, with no indication of the place or date of printing, is preserved in T-S. Print. Frag. Box 14 (15b):

השם המבורך הוא ישפיע ברכתו על
זאת המלאכה

There can be no doubt, however, in view of the characteristic types, that the edition was printed in Spain. Some clues as to the date of printing are to be found in the CUL fragments. There are among these a few duplicate leaves, some sheets that have no trace of stitching, and a number of pages that are badly printed, as if they had been drawn off the press as first samples. A leaf in Box 14 (11), damaged at the bottom, is unique; the verso is a palimpsest with two different texts printed one on top of the other, that is, Lev. viii 26f. on top of Lev. v 22f.

The nature of this material suggests that it came from the premises of the printing press. Its presence in the Cairo Genizah may perhaps be explained by supposing that the printer (or somebody else connected with the press), a refugee from Spain, collected together the sheets and even the leaves of his newly printed edition at the time of the expulsion and brought the entire material over to Egypt. The date of this print would thus be established as 1492.

An entire Bible in small folio was also printed in Spain with the same

¹ cfr. FREIMANN, *Thesaurus* etc., B. 12.

types as the quarto Pentateuch, Megilloth and Haftarothe. Facsimiles of a few pages of this Bible, recovered from bindings, have been recently published by Yaari¹. The Cambridge University Library possesses extensive fragments of this edition, which also came to the Library from the Cairo Genizah; T-S. Printed Fragments, Box 14 (31, 36, 37, 38, 42), contain fragments of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and 'Ketubim' (Esther, Song of Songs, Proverbs, Psalms, Job, Ezra and Daniel). The Pentateuch and Joshua each have 28 lines of unvocalised text on a page, but the 'Ketubim' have 30 (or 31) lines on a page².

The end of Daniel, preserved in Box 14 (42), is printed on the recto of the leaf, which is probably the last leaf of the edition. Unfortunately, this leaf is damaged at the bottom, preserving only two words of the last verse, and it is impossible to tell whether or not the edition has had a colophon. The page consists of only 26 lines and therefore perhaps sufficient space remained for a short colophon to have been included as in the quarto Pentateuch. The paper exhibits three kinds of watermarks: Briquet No. 10711 and No. 355? and a hand surmounted by an eight-pointed star.

Yaari assigned this Bible to the somewhat mythical press of Juan de Lucena in the eighties of the century, but the identity of its types with those of the quarto Pentateuch makes it more probable that both prints were issued by the same press in the nineties of the century. It must be pointed out, however, that the execution of the quarto Pentateuch is much more elegant than that of the Bible.

If the identity of types be considered a sufficient criterion, we shall have to assign to the same, as yet unidentified, press the following editions in small folio, with 30 lines to the page: (a) Isaac Alfasi, "Halakhoth"³; (b) Moses Maimonides, "Mishneh Torah"⁴; (c) Aaron Kohen of Lunel, "Orhoth Hayyim"⁵, and perhaps also (d) Tal B. Hulin⁶. Further, we must include the quarto edition of Maimonides' "Mishneh Torah" [Sefer Mad'a] with 19 lines to the page, which is of a most distinguished arrangement and appearance⁷. It forms a pendant to the folio "Mishneh Torah" in a manner exactly parallel to that of the quarto Pentateuch and the folio Bible previously described. The fact that we have in two instances a pair of impressions consisting of a folio and a quarto (partial) edition of the same book strengthens the supposition that these prints were issued by the same press.

2. PENTATEUCH [Samuel d'Ortas, Spain, 1492 or Leiria, 1495?]

A damaged leaf in the Bodleian Library, Hebrew c. 7. fol. 37, containing Gen. xxx, 1-39 belongs to a hitherto unknown folio edition of the Pentateuch,

¹ *Qiryath Sefer*, xxiv (1947), pp. 154-5; see also xxii (1946), 234.

² YAARI, *loc. cit.* noticed that there were two different impressions of "Ruth."

³ Only three leaves of this edition have been recorded by FREIMANN, *ZfHB* XII 15, but T-S. Print. Frag., Box 14 contains many fragments of it. The text of Alfasi has many readings differing from the edition Constantinople, 1509. A few leaves of the XVth century edition are in the Bodleian, Heb. c. 7, fol. 2-4.

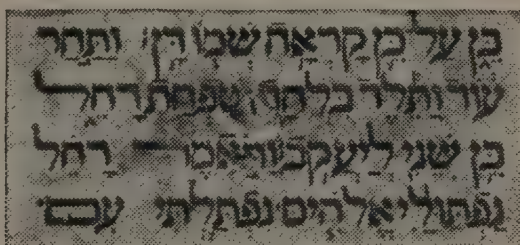
⁴ *Thesaurus*, B. 36. There are extensive fragments of this edition in CUL, T-S. Print. Frag., Box 14, and in the Bodleian, Heb. c. 7, Fol. 5-18 (two leaves are duplicates).

⁵ *Thesaurus*, B. 37.

⁶ *Thesaurus* B. 35, 3.

⁷ This quarto "Mishneh Torah" was mentioned by FREIMANN in *ZfHB* XII 15, who referred to it as an "octavo." Fragments of this edition are preserved in T-S. Print. Frag., Box 14, and Heb. d. 83, fol. 2-9 (Bodleian Library). Probably, no more than the "Sefer Mad'a" and the "Introduction," remains of which still exist, were ever printed.

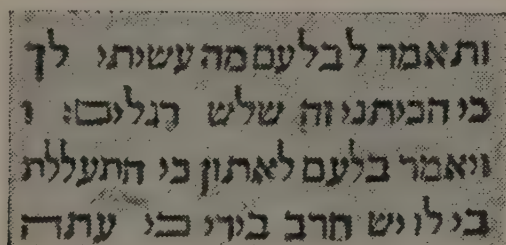
in two columns and 27 lines of vocalised text to the page. Its characteristic types and especially the shape of the dilated letters¹ make it probable that this edition was issued by the Samuel d'Ortas' press:



The bulk of Samuel d'Ortas' impressions was issued in Spain, while the printing of "Nebi'im Rishonim" was begun in Spain and completed in Leiria, Portugal, in 1495². The fragment of the Pentateuch, which closely resembles the latter print, may have been printed before it in Spain, or after it, in Portugal.

3. PENTATEUCH [Spain, XVth century]

Two damaged leaves (Ex. xiii and Num. xxii) in the CUL, T-S. Printed Fragments, Box 12 (38), belong to a hitherto unknown edition of the Pentateuch, in folio, two columns and 27 lines of unvocalised text to a page. The types are clearly Spanish, but I am unable to offer any suggestions regarding the press:



4. PSALTER [Shem Tob ibn Halaz or Moses ben She'alti'el, Spain, XVth century]

Two leaves containing Ps. civ 29-cv 44 are preserved in the Bodleian Library, Heb. e. 87, fol. 5-6. This hitherto unrecorded edition is very neatly printed in 12^{mo} with 14 lines of unvocalised text to the page. The types are identical with those of Bahye's Commentary on the Pentateuch printed by Shem Tob ibn Halaz³, and with those of the "Mishneh Torah" printed by Moses b. She'alti'el⁴. The country in which these two printers were active

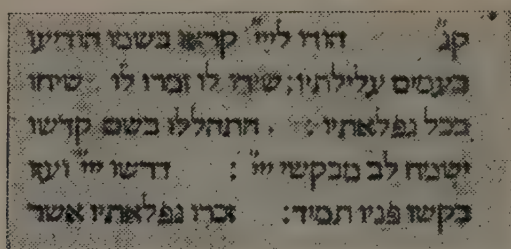
¹ cpr. *Thesaurus*, B. 27. I have mentioned this edition in my report, *Hebrew Printed Fragments in Bodleian Library Record*, 1941, 234-236.

² see my *Notes on Hebrew Incunables in Journal of Jewish Bibliography*, N.Y., IV (1943), 61.

³ see *Thesaurus*, B. 31.

⁴ see *Thesaurus*, B. 32; CUL T-S. Printed Fragments, Box 12 (9), contains a fragment of the "Mishneh Torah" of this edition on vellum.

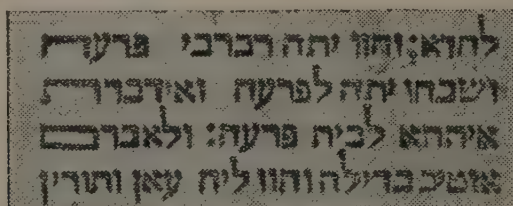
was probably neither the Levant nor Portugal, as has been suggested, but Spain:¹



5. TARGUM ONQELOS [Faro, before 1490]

Two leaves containing the Targum Onqelos to Gen. viii 29-xiv 4 in the Bodleian Library are bound together with MS. Opp. Add. Fol. 56². A badly damaged fragment of Num. is preserved in CUL. T-S. Printed Fragments, Box 12 (35). The fragment was described by Neubauer as "printed in Constantinople (?)," and more correctly, by Lutzki³, as a XVth century edition from Spain or Portugal. The watermarks and types of this print are, indeed, identical with those of the Faro (Portugal) Pentateuch, 1487⁴, and the Faro, T. B. Gittin, 1489⁵.

This edition of the Targum, the first to be printed separately and not on the borders of the Bible, is in small folio; the text, unvocalised, is printed in two columns with 46 lines to a page:



In order to fix the date of this Faro edition of the Targum I compared it with the text of the Targum in the Ixar Pentateuch, 1490, and with that in the Lisbon Pentateuch, 1491. Both these editions have the Targum to Gen. x 2-4, 6-7, 22-23 and xii 13, but in the Faro edition these verses are missing. This would appear to indicate that the Faro edition preceded the other two, as, otherwise, the omission of the verses would be difficult to explain. The text of the Faro Targum has also some variants that differ from the text of the Ixar and Lisbon Targums. The date of the Faro Targum is thus probably prior to 1490.

6. T. B. BABA MEZI'A AND SHEVU'OTH [Spain, XVth century]

The CUL possesses extensive fragments of a hitherto unknown edition in folio of the Bab. Talmud, Baba Mezi'a (Fol. 12b-16a, and Fol. 41a-41b) in T-S. Printed Fragments, Box 19 (109), and of Shevu'oth (Fol. 13b-14b; 18a-18b)

¹ see my *Notes, etc.*, p. 60.

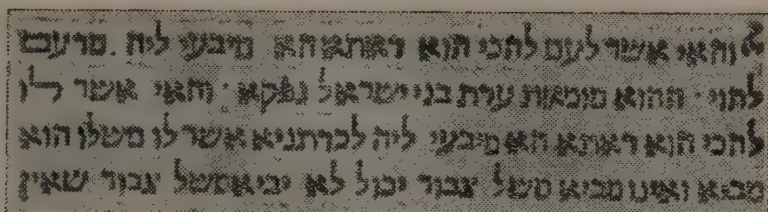
² NEUBAUER, *Catalogue*, No. 2422, 10.

³ In the interleaved copy of COWLEY, *Catalogue*, p. 688, in the Bodleian Library.

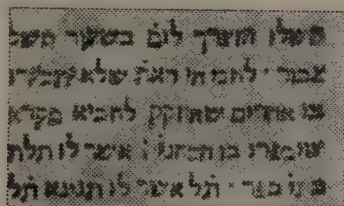
⁴ *Thesaurus*, B. 14.

⁵ On the date of this print see my *Notes, etc.*, p. 61.

in Box 19 (110). The text is accompanied only by Rashi, and the types, although larger, are similar to those of the 'Mishneh Torah' in 'Thesaurus,' B.41¹.



(Gemara)



(Rashi)

The folder in which the fragments of "T. B. Shevu'oth" are kept in CUL bears a note that this edition was printed in Faro. But the types of the Faro Talmud, many leaves of which are in CUL, in S-T. Printed Fragments, Box 12 (38) and Box 19 (113), containing "Berakhoth", and Box 12 (22) containing "Git'in," differ so markedly from those in which the tractates "Baba Mezi'a" and "Shevu'oth" are printed that it cannot be supposed that these impressions could have been issued from the same press. The reference to fragments of a Faro "Shevu'oth"² is, apparently, based on this wrong identification.

The text of these talmudic fragments, like that of other Iberian editions of the Talmud, differs considerably from our current printed text. A comparison between the "Baba Mezi'a" in our fragments with the current text and the manuscript variants recorded in 'Diquque Soferim' gives the following results: Our fragment is in accordance with ms. Munich in 26 instances; with ms. Hamburg in 39; with ms. Vatican 1 in 25; with ms. Vatican 2 in 24; with ms. Vatican 3 in 17, and with ms. Florence in 29. In 12 instances it is in accordance with all these mss., against our current text, and in 36 instances it exhibits variants peculiar to itself. In the case of 'Shevu'oth' variants of only two mss., Munich and Florence, are recorded in the 'Diquque Soferim' and our fragments agree in a few instances with each of them, but it also has variants that have no parallel either in our current text or in the mss.

As an illustration of the characteristic readings preserved in our fragments the following examples may be given:

Baba Mezi'a, 12b-13a:

...אי הכי כל שטרי דאתו לקמן נמי ניהוש... אמר ר' אשי בשטרי הקנאה דהא משעבד
נפשיה אי הכי מתני דתני אם יש בהן אחריות נכסים לא יחזיר ואוקימנא בשחייב

¹ cpr. also the types of a unique fragment of "Mishnah" in J. Bloch, *Early Printing in Spain and Portugal* in *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, Vol. 42, p. 395, Facsimile No. 3.

² *ZfHB*, XII (1908), p. 19.

מודה ומשום שמא כתב ללוות בניסן ולא לזה עד תשרי ואי בשטרי הקנאה אמאי לא יחזיר הא שעבד נפשיה ואי בשטרי דלאו הקנאה ליכא למיחש דהא אמרת כי ליכא מלוה בהדיה לא כתבי אמר לך רב אשי¹ אע"ג דבשטרי דלאו הקנאה ליכא למיחש דהא אמרת כי ליכא מלוה בהדיה לא כתבינן הא² כיון דנפל איתרע ליה וחיישי³ דילמא אקרי וכתבי אביי אמר עדיו בחותמיו זכין לו ואפילו בשטרי דלאו הקנאה משום דקשיא ליה לאביי כיון דאמר⁴ בשטרי דלאו הקנאה... אלא הא דתנן מצא גיטי נשים ושחוררי עבדים דאיתקי מתנות⁵ ושוברין הרי זה לא יחזיר שאני אומר⁶ כתובין היו ונמלך עליהם שלא ליתנם... בשלמא לרב אשי דאמר בשטרי אקניתא אוקי⁷ לה בלאו אקניתא אלא לאביי דאמר עדיו בחותמיו זכין לו במאי אוקימנא למתני⁸... אי סבר לה כרב אשי... אלא אי סבר לה כאביי דאמר עדיו בחותמיו זכין לו במאי אוקים ליה לפרעון ולקנוניא לא חיישינן ואי משום שמא כתב ללוות בניסן ולא לזה עד תשרי הא אמרת עדיו בחותמיו זכין לו שמואל מוקי לה למתני⁹...

Shevu'oth, 13b:

... מא טעמא דר' שמעון דכתיב ולקח את שני השעירים מקיש שעיר המשתלח לשעיר הנעשה בפנים מה שעיר הנעשה בפנים אינו מכפר על הכהנים דכתיב אשר לעם אף שעיר המשתלח אינו מכפר על הכהנים ור' יהודה כי איתקוש שיהו שוין במראה ובקומה ובדמים מאן תנא להא דתנו רבנן ושחט את שעיר החטאת אשר לעם שאין מתכפרין הכהנים בו ובמה הן מתכפרין כפרו של אהרן... ואם נפשך לומר הרי הוא אומר בית אהרן ברכו את ה' מאן תנא מעתה אין להם כפרה. אמר ר' ירמיהו ר' שמעון הוא דאמר כהנים אין להם כפרה בשעיר המשתלח דאי ר' יהודה מצינו להם כפרה בשעיר המשתלח בשאר עבירות אביי אמר אפילו תימ' ר' יהודה ומאי מעתה אין להם כפרה בטומאת מקדש וקדשיו כשהוא אומר ועל הכהנים ועל כל עם הקהל יכפר מצינו שיש להן כפרה בשאר עבירות ומדמצינו להם כפרה בשאר עבירות מצינו להם כפרה בטומאת מקדש וקדשיו.

Fol. 14a, (Mishna):

ידיעות הטומאה שנים שהן ארבע ניטמא וידע נעלמה... וזכור לקדש¹... נעלם ממנו קדש וזכור לטומאה... אכל את הקדש... ניטמא וידע נעלמה ממנו הטומאה וזכור... נעלם ממנו זה וזה נכנס... אחד נכנס... ואחד נכנס... באורים... ובסנהדרין²... נעלם ממנו... וזכור את הטומאה... או ששהה כדי³ השתחואה חייב... שאין חייבין עליה איזו⁴...

Fol. 18a:

ואלא בשלא בסמוך לוסתה ובכאן אי בתלמיד חכם ולא חדא לא ניחייב דאכניסה אנוס הוא ואפרישה מזיד הוא ואי¹ בעם הארץ בשלמא אפרישה ניחייב שוגג הוא אלא אכניסה אמאי אנוס הוא... א"ל רב אדא בר מתנא לרבא אימא אידי ואידי בשלא בסמוך... וכי תימא תרתי למה לי אידי דבעא למתנא נמצא על שלה תנא נמי נמצא על שלו.

J. L. TEICHER.

Cambridge.

¹ So in R. Hanan'el.

² So in all mss.

³ So in all mss.; cfr. Tosafoth, *ad voc.*: משום דקשיא ליה.

⁴ So in Vat. 1; Vat. 2.

⁵ So in all three Vat. mss.

⁶ So in mss. M. Fl., "Mishnah" with Maimonides' Commentary, Naples, 1492; T Yerushalmi.

⁷ So in mss. M. Fl. and "Mishnah," Naples.

⁸ So in ms. M.

⁹ So in ms. M; cpr. S. Luria's emendation *ad loc.*

A PLEA FOR A "CORPUS OF GENIZAH PIYYUTIM" *

The difficulties attending the work of an archæologist who has set himself the task of reconstructing the plan and the buildings of a town destroyed a thousand years ago are not surpassed by the difficulties that confront those scholars who endeavour to reconstruct a lost branch of Hebrew literature from the Genizah fragments now dispersed among a great number of libraries and collections. The pioneers in the field of Genizah studies, Schechter, Kaufmann and others, cherished the idea of collecting the whole of the material into a single "Genizah Corpus," but in face of the almost insurmountable difficulties they were compelled to curb this ambition and content themselves with the publication of selected items. Even to-day, although fifty years or so have elapsed since Jewish studies began to absorb the wealth hidden in the Genizah, the greater part of the material still remains a sealed fountain.

In these circumstances it will appear a bold, if not fantastic, proposal that the extant fragments of Liturgical Poetry should be collected in a "Corpus of Genizah Piyyutim." The contemplated edition would comprise about thirty volumes and the whole be crowned with a "Dictionary of the Payyetanim," towards the compilation of which the work on the "Corpus" from its inception should be directed. Such an enterprise could be undertaken only by a group of specialists and with financial aid on a very large scale.

If I nevertheless put forward this plea, I am encouraged to do so by two factors which render the scheme more feasible at the present juncture than at any other time in the past. The first is the existence of Davidson's "Thesaurus of Mediæval Hebrew Poetry," in which the whole of the material charted is listed. The other is the "Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry" in Jerusalem, founded by Schocken, in which the as yet uncharted material has been assembled together.

Before the foundation of the "Research Institute" the study of the Genizah Piyyutim was conducted in a haphazard manner. Scholars who engaged in the pursuit were specialists in more than one branch of Hebrew studies and did not devote their energies exclusively to the elucidation of the intricate problems involved in the study of the Piyyut fragments. Moreover, the instruments of research, which derived from the time of Zunz, were entirely unsuitable for the unexpected tasks they were required to perform. These scholars were like tourists who pass in a swift train through an unknown country, merely catching a glimpse through the carriage windows. The vast body of the Piyyut literature remained a "terra incognita."

The foundation of the "Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry" ushered in a new era. The "Institute" became a kind of central dépôt of the Piyyut fragments, in which over 3,600 pieces—one half of which contain poetry—were assembled together, mainly in photographic reproductions, from numerous libraries and private collections. At the same time the "Institute" became the "Research Laboratory" for the study of the Piyyut, in which intensive investigation of the whole available material has, for the past seventeen years, been carried out. The results achieved have surpassed all expectations. To mention

*Based on a communication read before the Congress of Hebrew Studies in Jerusalem, 1947.

one instance: ten years ago about three quarters of the collected material remained unidentified, but to-day the proportion is reversed—only the authorship of one quarter remains still to be established. Results such as these have prepared the ground for the more ambitious scheme of collecting the whole Piyyutim material in a "Corpus."

One may ask, what is the special importance of the "Piyyutim," and what special advantage could be derived from the exhaustive study of this branch of Genizah literature?

The great significance of the Piyyut literature lies in the fact that in it we find reflected, more than in any other branch of Hebrew literature, all aspects of the religious and cultural life of Oriental Jewry during the millenium following the destruction of the Temple. The essential features of Judaism were moulded during this period, which was a fundamental one in Jewish history, and the spirit of the epoch found its expression in the creative activity of hundreds of Payyetanim. Many forms of Jewish spiritual life which have disappeared in the course of centuries, except for some faint traces left in the "Siddur" and in the "Maḥzor," have been rediscovered only in the Genizah Piyyutim. The accepted criteria of literary criticism should not be applied in the study of this liturgical poetry. Its æsthetic qualities are secondary in importance to the wealth of information it contains about the ideas and the attitude to life which prevailed in Jewish history during a period covering over twenty generations.

The previously unsuspected vastness of the Piyyut literature and its importance for the elucidation of many obscure chapters in Hebrew literature may be illustrated by the following instances, which embody some of the results of the work carried out in the "Research Institute for Hebrew Poetry."

About one-third of the Genizah Piyyutim consists of "Yozeroth" for the year's cycle of the weekly pericopes of the Pentateuch and their prophetic lessons (Haftaroḥ). These "Yozeroth" form the exact counterpart to Yannai's "Qeroboth," which are based upon the triennial cycle of pericopes and "Haftaroḥ" of Palestinian usage. The substitution of the "Yozer" for the older form of "Qerobah" seems to be the result of a concession to those who objected to the intrusion of the Piyyut into the "Eighteen Benedictions" (Qerobah), but who apparently did not object to the same degree to its insertion in the "Benedictions of the Shem'a" (Yozer). This question will have to be discussed at length elsewhere, but I should like to mention here that while hitherto we have known only "Yozeroth" for the four special,¹ and for some selected, pericopes, research carried out in the "Institute" has revealed the existence of not less than fifteen cycles, "Maḥzorim," each of which contains "Yozeroth" for the pericopes of the whole year.

The authors of these "Yozeroth" belong to different periods and localities. Of some nothing but their names are known. Others are well known, such as Samuel the Third, Birabi Hosh'ana, member of the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem towards the end of the Xth century, Solomon Suleiman, who flourished between the IXth and XI centuries, Joseph Ibn 'Abitur and Isaac Ibn G'iyat. It is not yet clear whether one named El'azar Birabi Qilar is to be identified with the famous Qalir or with a later poet who adopted as his pseudonym the name of his illustrious predecessor. The wealth of information contained in these newly disclosed sources is of inestimable value for the understanding of the spiritual development of Jewry.

The contents of the Genizah Piyyutim throw illumination on certain problems of Hebrew literature which have hitherto eluded the right solution. Thus, to quote one instance, the criticism levelled by Dunash Ibn Labrat against

¹ שקלים, זכור, פרה, בחדש.

Saadyah Gaon has been known to us from one side only, in the form of the arguments of the critic himself. The greater part of Saadyah's own writings is not extant, and the small number that has been preserved is hardly sufficient to enable us to fully appreciate the revolution in the use of the Hebrew language introduced by Saadyah. Now, among the newly disclosed composers of "Yozeroth" who are known to us only by name, there is one called "Solomon," who is distinguished by a peculiarly eccentric style. The only parallel of this style is to be found in Saadyah's Piyyutim, and an investigation carried out at the "Institute" during the past two years has ascertained beyond any doubt that the true author of those "Yozeroth" is Saadyah Gaon himself, who from some motive of mystification, on which I shall not dwell at present, adopted the name of "Solomon."¹

It has further been established that Saadyah composed a complete "Maḥzor of Yozeroth" on the pericopes of the whole Pentateuch, fragments of which are scattered among several Genizah manuscripts. The "Research Institute" possesses twenty such fragments, one of which contains the "Yozer" on the pericope "Shemini" (Lev. ix-xi). In this pericope are mentioned the four unclean animals, the camel, the coney, the hare and the swine, which are usually taken for homiletical purposes as symbols of the four foreign powers who dominated Israel. This homiletical theme is also developed by Saadyah in his "Yozer" where, referring to the "hare" as the symbol of Greek domination, he states:

1. קִנְיָהּ תִּבְלָהּ סִגְרָתִּי בְּקִרְבָּנָהּ
2. רֹכְבִּי תְּדִבְרִי פִּילֹלָהּ בְּאוֹרֵנָהּ
3. בְּשִׁפְףָּהּ אֲשַׁנֵּב לְהַנְבוּתִי מֵאַרְנָהּ

The meaning of some words in these lines is obscure. The expression "Qin'ah" is found also in "Genesis Rabba" 32a, as an "epithet" for a matron, and it may be assumed that Saadyah used it to designate "the Jewish people." The meaning of *beqarnebheth*, as well as of *b'urnbhth* eludes me and the dictionaries offer no help. The purport of the first two lines is nevertheless sufficiently clear:

"The Jewish people were oppressed under the heavy yoke of the Greeks [line 2], but the Hasmonean priests² made justice prevail³, or, in other words, took revenge upon the Greeks."

The purport of the third line is equally clear: "When Thou didst open the window to look upon us from heaven, in order to deliver us from the hare (the Greeks)".

Some of the expressions in this line reveal Saadyah's peculiar habit of changing the masculine gender into the feminine and his proclivity for coining new words. *Ashnebheth* is only the feminine of the usually masculine noun *eshnab*, but the verb, *lehanbothi*, in the meaning of "deliver" is rather difficult. I should like to suggest that it was coined by Saadyah from *נוכח-נבה*, in analogy with *פּוֹחַ-פָּצָה* meaning both to "utter" and to "deliver."

These characteristics of Saadyah's style are again clearly discernible in the following lines of the "Ofan":

1. אָנֹכִי לַהֶטֶט קָרַח צִרְתָּהּ רָקִיעַ הַשְּׁמַיִ
2. בְּחִרְתָּהּ מִמְּצִילִי שְׁמוֹנָה נְיִינָה עַל הַשְּׁמַיִ

The meaning of the first line is: "Thou createdst the eighth heaven from

¹ I shall bring forward evidence for this statement elsewhere.

² *רוכבי חבית* derives from Lev. vi, 14 and designates the priests who prepare the meal offering. ³ *פיללה*.

the ice of fire and water.”¹ *Eglath* and *lahatath* are again the feminine forms of usually masculine nouns.

Line 2: “Thou selectest from among the eight choirs the melody of the eighth” can be understood only in the light of Saadyah’s commentary on Ps. vi, in which he explains that there were eight melodies in use in the Temple², each of which was assigned to a separate section of the Levites. But he does not mention there that the “eighth section” was the most important, and I am unable to indicate a source for this assertion.

This line of the “Ofan” also throws an unexpected light on the following verse in Al-Harizi’s “Tahkemoni,” xviii, the conclusion of which seems at first sight to be a meaningless phrase:

עד בוא המאה השמינית ואז יתעוררו לבן על השמינית.

The purport of this verse now becomes clear. Al-Harizi states that Hebrew poetry in Spain reached its nadir towards the end of the eighth century (of the fifth millenium—Xth century C.E.) and that Spanish poets awakened then (from their slumber) and strove to raise poetry to its highest degree of excellence.

The artificiality of Saadyah’s style, which occasionally becomes almost esoteric, can be further illustrated by the following lines of the “Zulath” belonging to the same “Yozer,” the theme of which is the transfer of the Ark from Gibeah to the city of David:³

(a) 1. הַרְכִּיבוּ צוֹלְחֵי קוֹפְצֵי יֶרֶדָן עַל כְּתָף בִּידַת בְּדַת הַוִּקְדָּשָׁה

2. הוּא הַעֲבִיר נֹשְׂאָיו וְהֵלֵם עוֹצָה וּפְלִישָׁה

The expression *בִּידַת* in line 1 is difficult and its exact meaning eludes me, but it is obvious that it refers to the Ark, which was sanctified by the tables of the Law deposited in it.⁴ The words *Uzah* and *Pelisha* are again “neologisms” in Saadyah’s customary style, derived from the Biblical *Uz* and *Pelesheth*. The general meaning of the lines is: “Those who crossed the Jordan (in Joshua’s time) carried the Ark sanctified by the Law on their shoulders (and not on a wagon as David did), but, in fact, it was the Ark that carried its bearers over the river⁵ and destroyed the Amalekites (*Uz*) and the Philistines.”

Two other lines of this “Zulath” are still more intricate:

(b) 1. וַיִּגְדַּל יִקְרַת פְּלִאִיָּה לְחוֹטֵר נִשְׁקַת רְמוּחָה

2. וְכִי לֹא יִכְסוּף וִיכָל לְשַׁעוֹר לְאַרְוֹן עֲתָךְ כְּתִמִּיחָה

The meaning of these lines seems to be: “The miracles wrought for ‘Obed the Edomite’ as a reward for his having kept the Ark in his house, were told to David, and who would not be kindled by the desire of becoming the door-keeper of the Ark?” But there is great difficulty in establishing the exact meaning of some words—*Nishqath remukah* are the feminine forms of *nesheq* “arms” and *romah* “spear” and are applied as an epithet to David⁶, but what does “*kitmihah*” mean? The word cannot be found in the dictionaries but, fortunately its meaning may be inferred from the following lines of

¹ cpr. Ex. 122 רקיע כעין הקרח הנורא.

² ת'מאניה אלאחא.

³ cpr. 2 Sam. vi.

⁴ בִּידַת is perhaps the feminine of בָּד “pole” (cpr. Ex. xxxvii) in accordance with Saadyah’s customary procedure in changing the gender, and it is a “pars pro toto” to describe the Ark. J.L.T.)

⁵ cpr. T. B. Sota 35a; Ex. Rabba 36.

⁶ Perhaps in analogy with רכב ישראל ופרשיו.

Saadyah's "Zulath" to the pericope כהעלותך (Num. viii-xii), in which the poet offers prayers for the rebuilding of the Temple:

1. צַטְרוֹת תַּעֲנוּד לְמִשִּׁיחַ, רְדִי מִחֻקַּת שְׁלֹחֵי רוֹמָח
2. תִּשְׁעִירָה שׁוֹעֲרֵי הַמַּעוֹק, בְּנֵי נֹצִיָה וּבְנֵי תֵמָח

The interpretation of these lines is: "Mayest Thou set crowns upon the head of my Messiah while my hand yields the sword and the spear,¹ and place the sons of Naziah and Temah as doorkeepers of the Sanctuary." Evidently, according to Saadyah, the sons of Naziah and Temah mentioned in Ez. ii, 53-54 and Neh. vii, 55-56 were doorkeepers of the Sanctuary, but I am unable to quote a source for this opinion. The rhymes "Romah-Temah" form an exact parallel to the rhymes of the lines of the "Zulath" (b, 1-2) mentioned above: "Remuhah-Kitmihah," and the expression *temihah* is obviously identical with the masculine name "*Temah*." Line b2 of the "Zulath" must accordingly mean: "Who would not be kindled by the desire of becoming the doorkeeper of the Ark (Sanctuary) like Temah."

This is a striking example of Saadyah's innovations in the use of the Hebrew language and of the extravagance of his style. Even biblical proper names were subjected to transformations, apparently, on the basis of a theory of language which allowed the most radical neologisms as long as their structure corresponded to biblical forms.

Saadyah's Piyyutim are the best illustration of the linguistic and stylistic ferment in which the first Hebrew grammarians were involved, chiefly through Saadyah himself; and the peculiar "tone" of the criticism Dunash Ibn Labrat directed against such artificial and esoteric poetry is now less of a mystery.

I hope that these examples will be sufficient to show the immense importance of the study of the Genizah Piyyutim and that the proposal regarding the editing of a "Corpus of the Genizah Piyyutum" will find adherents among all those who have at heart the furtherance of Hebrew studies.

A full exploitation of the Genizah Piyyutim may well contribute to the revival of Hebrew studies in general, which at the present time are involved in a crisis not entirely due to external circumstances.

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¹ An allusion to the reconstruction of the Temple in the time of Nehemiah; cpr. Neh. iv, 11.

NOTES AND COMMUNICATIONS

A SUPERFLUOUS EMENDATION

The emendation of יהוה to שריון in Ps. civ 16, proposed by Professor H. F. D Sparks in *JTS*, XLVIII (1947), 57 f, seems to be so far-fetched that I cannot help coming to the defence of the Massoretic text with the following considerations :

(1) In the first place there is nothing wrong in the phrase עצי יהוה, which is a perfect parallel to ארזי לבנון : just as the "cedars of Lebanon" mean "mighty, majestic cedars," so also the "trees of Yahweh" denote "mighty, majestic trees," on the line of שלהבתיה in Cant. viii 6 meaning "a mighty flame" and אש יהוה in 1 Ki. xviii 38 meaning "a mighty fire" (cpr. also ארזי אל in Ps. lxx 11 meaning "mighty cedars"). Undoubtedly the A.V. rendering, "the trees of the Lord," is misleading.

(2) There is not even comfortable support for Professor Sparks' emendation from the G^B reading α δ α λ ξ α τ ο υ π α δ ε σ ο υ, since all the leading Septuagint authorities (such as Schleussner in his *Lexicon*, Field in his *Hexapla*, etc.) admit that π α δ ε σ ο υ is most likely an inner Greek error from κ υ ρ ι ο υ, which is found everywhere else including the Sinaitic Codex. In Greek uncial manuscripts such errors are quite common.

(3) Even assuming the possibility of the G^B reading, the Hebrew would have to be עצי השדה (as in Isa. lv 12, Ezek. xvii 24, etc., Joel i 12 and 19), and not עצי שדי, as proposed by Professor Sparks.

(4) While עצי לבנון occurs in the Scriptures, notably 2 Chr. ii 7, the phrase עצי הרמן or עצי שריון is entirely unknown.

(5) Finally, by changing יהוה to שריון Professor Sparks at once deprives the verb נטע of a subject, since the meaning implied is "the cedars of Lebanon which He (namely, Yahweh) hath planted."

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JOB XXXVII 22

The Hebrew text of Job xxxvii 22 runs as follows :

מִצְפּוֹן יְהִי יֵאָתֶה עַל-אֱלֹהִים נוֹרָא הוֹד

which is translated in the Authorised Version : "Fair weather cometh out of the north : with God is terrible majesty" ; while the Revised Version has :

"Out of the north cometh golden splendour :
God hath upon him terrible majesty."

It has frequently been remarked that "terrible majesty" would require נורא הוד in place of הוד נורא of the M.T., and the text is emended accordingly by some commentators;¹ while others² prefer to read נראה for נורא, with הוד as subject—"majesty is seen." Such emendations are, however, quite unnecessary if על here be regarded, not as the common preposition "upon,"

¹ E.g., K. BUDDE, *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 226 ; cp. S. R. DRIVER and G. B. GRAY, *The Book of Job*, p. 296 (of philological notes).

² E.g., G. BEER, in KITTEL, *Bibl. Hebr.*, 3rd ed., *ad loc.*

but as a verb, which stands in parallelism with יאהה "comes."³ The word על here is, I suggest, to be explained by reference to the root עלל, which occurs commonly in Biblical Aramaic in the sense of "go in, come in" (cp. the Perfect על in Dan. ii 16, 24; vi 11).⁴ The phrase על אלוה (with omission of the maqqeph) will thus mean "God enters"; and נורא הוד will mean "terrible in majesty," just as נורא תהלת (Ex. xv 11) means "awe-inspiring in praises," and נורא עלילה (Ps. lxvi 5) means "terrible in deed."

Adopting the emendation זהר "splendour"⁵ (cp. Ezek. viii 2; Dan. xii 3) in place of the difficult זהב "gold" in the first half of the verse, we may translate:

"Out of the north splendour cometh,
God enters, terrible in majesty."

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³ For the imperfect followed by the perfect in parallelism, cp. Job xxx 14.

⁴ This root is known, not only in Aramaic (and Syriac), but also in Hebrew (Job xvi 15), Arabic, and in the Ras Shamra texts. For the last named, see C. H. GORDON, *Ugaritic Grammar*, p. 105.

⁵ See DRIVER and GRAY, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*, and p. 323; BEER, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; G. HÖLSCHER, *Das Buch Hiob*, p. 85; G. RICHTER, *Erläuterungen zu dunkeln Stellen im Buche Hiob*, p. 72.

CORRECTION TO J. J. S. I 43, n. 4:

S. M. Stern has kindly informed me that Hibat Allah's *K. al-Mu'atabar* has been edited; it was published in Hyderabad in 1938-39. I have found the passages referred to by the author of the *Leningrad Tract* as being contained in the last chapter of the book, in fact, in the last but one chapter (XXIX) of Part II, p. 444, lines 3-5. The author of the *Leningrad Tract* had apparently, a different edition, or an incomplete copy, of the *Mu'atabar*.

J. L. T.

OBITUARY

On Friday, June 4th, 1948, Professor Samuel Krauss, the Nestor of Jewish scholars in this country and a Member of the Editorial Board of this Journal, died in Cambridge at the age of 82. A polyhistor who explored with astonishing industry almost every province of Jewish studies, he appeared in this age of specialisation as a figure of the legendary past.

His intellectual powers were matched by kindness of heart and strength of character, and the courage and dignity with which he bore the stresses of life in new surroundings were an object of constant admiration to those who came in contact with him.

He died in harness, working almost until the last day of his life, when he saw the proofs of the article that appears under his name in this number.

A special number of this Journal will be devoted to his memory, and we hope that many of his pupils and friends will honour the memory of this great scholar and gentleman with their contributions.

We regret also to announce that Professor Aron Freimann, the well-known Jewish bibliographer and editor, has died in New York at the age of 77. As an editor of the 'Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie,' President of the 'Mekize Nirdamim,' collector of rare books, editor of many literary treasures and author of important bibliographical essays, he rendered valuable service to the cause of Jewish studies. In him another representative of that glorious generation of Jewish scholars of the past century who built up the imposing structure of Jewish studies has passed away.

זכר צדיקים לברכה

THE EDITORIAL BOARD.

SURVEY OF CURRENT LITERATURE

SOCIOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF BAR KOCHBA'S WAR

SAMUEL YEVIN, *The War of Bar Kochba*, [in Hebrew], The Byalik Institute of the Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1946.

While it is good to know that Jews are again writing works on their own history in their own language, it is a pity that these should be inaccessible to the learned world that does not read Hebrew, and that the Byalik Institute did not append to Mr. Yevin's work an English summary such as was printed by the Hebrew University Press at the end of Dr. V. Tcherikover's recent book on the Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt in the light of papyrology.

No scientific book has been attempted on the subject of Bar Kochba since archæology has begun to illuminate the darker corners of Jewish and Roman history. The main difficulty is in the character of the evidence; archæological finds are still scanty, references of the pagan and Christian writers are few, and concerning the date and interpretation of the Rabbinic passages which appear to deal with the Second Revolt, there is much disputation. Nor perhaps has the required degree of co-operation between archæologists, classical scholars, and Hebraists yet been attained in this field. Yevin therefore has performed a service in assembling the various classical references and in publishing and arranging the relevant Hebrew passages with a discussion on their date—the latter composing his second appendix.

No estimate of his success in that sphere is intended here, but rather a summarisation of his results and some indication of the book's deficiencies. The author's approach is historical but not strictly military; he is not concerned with tactics, although he cannot ignore the strategy of the war because the war is his subject; he confessedly avoids treatment of sociological factors, although some of these impinge on our attention as it were between the lines.

Yevin opens with a sketch of the situation in Judæa between the revolts of 66-72 and 132, and by citing evidence from Josephus and recent excavations, shows that the destruction wrought by the Romans in the first war was not widespread; many of the towns opened their gates to the Romans and punitive measures were confined chiefly to the villages. In the Jerusalem district, for instance, Gofna, Anata and Ras-al-Heruba remained untouched, but Bethel and Giv'at Sha'ul were abandoned, and the area to the south continued as the classic refuge of exiles and bandits. What bearing this might have had on the *territorium* of Legion X "Fretensis" or the fact that Josephus lost his estates near the city, Yevin does not say. Consequently he concludes that the rising of 66 was preponderantly a peasant affair, and demonstrates that Josephus' figures of Jewish casualties are frequently exaggerated by comparing, for instance, the estimated population of the Delta city of Karnais (20,000) in the late 2nd century C.E. with that of Jotopata, which, though one twenty-fifth of the former's size, is credited with 40,000 inhabitants by Josephus. But that a considerable Jewish population remained in the country after the second destruction was shown by Buechler on the basis of literary sources, and it is not clear what Yevin wishes to prove with his argument. He expresses no opinion on the question of the social composition of the rebels of 132, merely stating that there is nothing to show that the urban population stood aside as it had done in 66-72.

Yevin reconstructs the course of political events from the destruction to the revolt as follows. He conceives that after the political and military reorganisation which turned Jerusalem, the Jewish capital, into a garrison town and eliminated the theocratic nobility, underground ferment probably continued uninterrupted till Trajan's time. (He finds evidence of civil disturbance under Domitian, in the fact that Domitian instituted searches for scions of the House of David and struck coins "Judæa capta," which, if merely retrospective to 72, would be without parallel.) He inclines to believe that the two alleged successors of Bar Kochba

(Rufus and Romulus) may have been his predecessors, and members of a hereditary underground leadership perhaps claiming kinship with the House of David. Although Nerva initiated a more tolerant policy, in 115, nevertheless, rebellion broke out in Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, and elsewhere. Yevin sketches this revolt too briefly, yet there is little doubt that it should be regarded as a prelude to the Bar Kochba rising and as such deserves more attention. Several events, which he only mentions in passing, must have had a close connection with the troubles of 115 and 132, such as the annexation of Herod Agrippas' kingdom on his death in 96, and the formation of the province Arabia in 106. In Galilee, and especially in Lower Galilee, broad areas belonging to the family of Herod (e.g., Beth Shearim and Sichin or Campus Asochis) no doubt passed to the *patrimonium Cæsaris* in 96. Here was situated the village of Kochba, which Yevin rightly identifies as Bar Kochba's home, and Sichin, which was one of the centres of the rising of 132. Here must have been the Biq'at-Beth Rimmon (Sahel al Battauf), the scene of the Jewish folk gathering on the eve of the revolt. (Javneh, where moderate Jewish elements were settled by Vespasian after the war of the Destruction, had been the private estate of Livia, wife of Augustus.) The southern part of Judæa had been transformed after 72 into a military area belonging to the Cæsars, and here in the 4th century are found the *Saltus Geraticus* and the *Saltus Constantiniacus*. Its garrisons were in the main diverted to Transjordan when Arabia was created in 106. The aim of this new province was to secure the Roman rear for the attack on Parthia and to isolate Judæa, always apt to be troublesome; it was not by chance that Gerasa (Jerash) was Hadrian's base for the counter-attack against Bar Kochba. These changes must have had a considerable moral and economic influence on the Jews, and must have contributed to the explosions of 115. The author fails to appreciate these circumstances, nor does he appreciate, apparently, the importance of the Jewish failure under Trajan, which settled the fate of the 132 rising in advance, by cancelling out all possibility of aid to Judæa from the Jewish communities of Egypt, Cyrene, and Babylonia. Talmudic passages on Bethar, moreover, indicate that it was a centre of insurrection both in 115 and 132.

With the agrarian problem in Judæa, indeed, Yevin hardly deals, although what has been said above will suggest that the crown lands may have had something to do with the rising. The sources do hint that it had a considerable peasant character: Dio tells of the conquest of 985 Jewish villages; the festival of the Thirty-Third of 'Omer, derived from this war, has a strongly rural character; a Rabbinic legend tells that Bethar did not mourn for the fall of Jerusalem, whose dignitaries had cheated the villagers of their lands; the *Megillat Ta'anit* speaks of the oppressiveness of land-taxes precisely in connection with the folk gathering at Biq'at Rimmon before the rising; Eusebius writes that Bar Kochba "convinced the humbler of the people"; he further states that Tineius Rufus confiscated Jewish land (iv. 6); the participation of non-Jews in the revolt was considerable; and there is a strong presumption of an agrarian factor in the movement under Trajan.

Whatever the effects of the events of 115/118 may have been, Hadrian, thinks Yevin, arrived at Alexandria disposed to reconstruction and appeasement, which may have given rise to the impression amongst the Jews that he would favour a reconstruction of the Temple. With this circumstance Yevin connects the incident of Lulianus and Pappus, who appear to have organised wide-scale aid for Jewish pilgrimage to Jerusalem (Gen. R. 64). But despite of this he assigns to the Trajanic revolt the arrest of these two Jews, who are mentioned in *Megillat Ta'anit* in the context of the "Day of Trajan." He rightly says that the latter incident rather accounts for the cancellation of the festival than for its institution, but if it is really connected with Trajan (which is far from certain), it is hardly to be thought that the two leaders survived the occurrence; hence the pilgrimage affair must be assigned to Trajan's reign also. On the other hand, if we place, with Yevin, the pilgrimage episode in Hadrian's time, the "Ta'anit" event must also be relegated to that period.

Yevin thinks that Hadrian's plan for the re-erection of the Temple was checked by the interference of the Samaritans; thereupon followed the Jewish gathering in Biq'at Rimmon where R. Yehoshua ben Hananiah restrained the extremists;

the dismissal of Lusius Quietus may then have come as a concession after negotiations. It is also suggested that the statement of Epiphanius that the later convert Aquila of Sinope was now put in charge to rebuild Jerusalem may contain an echo of the truth. This took place in 119; Hadrian had returned to Rome in 118, and Jewish preparations for the revolt were already proceeding. In 130 Hadrian, having received a flattering reception throughout the Greek East, reached Judæa; the contrast of his reception by the Jews, who seemed impervious to Greek culture and insisted on the rebuilding of the Temple, finally decided him in favour of restoring Jerusalem as a pagan city, and Tineius Rufus was installed in the place of Aquila. Negotiations may have continued throughout 131 and 132, while he was in Syria and Egypt, but the ploughing of the *pomoerium* of Aelia was interpreted by the Jews as a fulfilment of the prophecy that "Zion shall be ploughed like a field" (Micah iii. 12), and the revolt broke out.

In his account of the war, Yevin demonstrates that hostilities were not confined to Judæa, as some have thought; the Samaritans participated in the rebellion, and Kefar Haruba, where the first fighting took place, seems to have been east of the Sea of Galilee, while Christian writers state that the conflict extended into Syria. Jerusalem was taken, but it is doubtful whether Legion XXII "Deioteriana" was really wiped out by the Jews as Yevin believes; a legion was lost in Cappadocia in 159 C.E. (Fronto, ed. Niebuhr, 208), and was probably "Deioteriana," since no other legion falls from the army list in the 2nd century.* That the Xth Legion "Fretensis" was compelled to surrender or lost its camp at Jerusalem by storm (Yevin's view) seems to be unacceptable, for the legion suffered no disgrace as might have been expected in such a case, and reappears later in this campaign. It may have retreated to Cæsarea, which, thinks our author, was untaken—a hypothesis that can be tested only by excavation.

The aim of the Roman counter-attack is defined by Yevin as the gradual isolation of the disaffected area from bases in the east, north and north-east. On the basis of the names associated with the war in the Hebrew sources, three routes are reconstructed along which this attack proceeded by means of three columns. 1. From Akko through Shifream to Beth Natufah (Sahel al Bittauf). 2. Over the Jordan by the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob through Migdal to Tiberias. 3. From Transjordan through Migdal Zabia (Hirbat al Daoud near Zemah) on the south of the Sea of Galilee. These three columns met at Sahel al Bittauf (the plain of Rimmon) and captured in the course of their advance Migdal, Sikhin, Kabul and Kefar Namara. It might be added that there is an interesting sociological corollary to this scheme, unnoticed by the author; viz., that the military objective was the crown lands north of the Plain of Esdraelon, as well as Kefar Kokhba, which stands within easy reach of Sikhin, Kabul, and Migdal.

From Rimmon the Roman column advanced south to Esdraelon, and a critical battle took place near Megiddo; simultaneously the Roman fleet and the X "Fretensis" were mopping up Jewish resistance along the coast of the Maritime Plain. This concluded the first phase; the second (beginning perhaps in the middle of 133, or in spring 134), involving the conquest of Ephraim and Judæa, was carried out by a convergence of two columns from Cæsarea and Esdraelon respectively, the former through Antipatris, Timnah and Gofna, the latter via Samaria along the hill-ridge to the same point. Absence of any mention of a battle for the entrance to the hill-massif causes Yevin to assume that at this point the Samaritans gave in; but there were battles for the approaches to Jerusalem at Tur Shim'on and Gofna. The first place Yevin identifies with Tur Masiah, north-east of the latter place; this may be right, but it is by no means certain that this name is the same as Tur Malka which appears in an alternative source, for Tur Malka is mentioned by a number of documents; and even if there were several localities so called, there can be little doubt, one was in Samaria; further it is hard to ignore the famous passage (Yebamoth 62b) which tells that R. Akiba had 12,000 pairs of disciples between Antipatris and Giv'at, all of whom died in one day because they did not honour one another. It does look therefore as though there was a decisive battle somewhere near Antipatris which resulted in a Jewish defeat owing to internal disunion—and perhaps marked the beginning of the Samaritan defection. The raising of forces by

*This information I owe to the courtesy of E. B. Birley, F.S.A.

Hadrian at Samaria, moreover, mentioned in the Samaritan sources, should no doubt be connected with a reinforcement of the Ala and Cohors Sebastenorum of the Roman army-lists existing prior to the rising, and with a *tabula honestae missionis* of men of a Cohors Sebastenorum Miliaria who received discharge after the war, found in Hauran (*Ann. Ep.* 1897, No. 106).

The fall of Jerusalem after Gofna opened the third stage of the war; Yevin puts the capture in the end of second year of the war (134), and Hadrian was already back in Rome by May of that year. Yet on p. 96, in a passage that is far from clear, he seems to argue that the city was still held as late as 135, and explains the absence of rebel coinage in the third year by dissension among the Jewish fighters. At all events, the third stage consisted in the narrowing down of the Jewish-held zone round Bethar, a military operation evidenced by three or four names associated with the war from Talmudic sources, that fit very well the roads radiating from Beth Djibrin. That from Beth Djibrin to Jerusalem is of Hadrian's time as we know from a milestone (*Rev. Bib.* iii. 613); that south-south-eastward to Hebron also (*Pal. Jhrb.* xxvii. 18), and the road north-north-west to Lydda, known to have been repaired under Caracalla, is a natural continuation of the second. The final stage was the reduction of Bethar. Yevin has a useful account of the fortress and its surrounding siege-lines, with photographs, including one of the not well-known Roman siege bank over the south ditch. He points out that part of the Jewish fortifications was built in haste, and makes the interesting suggestion that the bastions were modelled on the Hellenistic bastions of Samaria, for there is evidence of Samaritans amongst the defenders. One might add that bastions, which became more common with the close of the 3rd century, have a tactical significance reflecting the growth of the use of archery and static artillery, and there are hints that Bar Kokhba used both. The shooting of bows is still part of the folk festival of the Thirty-Third of the 'Omer celebrated in memory of the revolt, while the story that Bar Kochba caught Roman ballista balls and threw them back at the enemy is perhaps to be interpreted in the sense that he appropriated Roman artillery, just as Decebalus had done a few years before.

That the siege lines of Bethar were double on the west side suggests that there still existed a Jewish force capable of attempting to raise the siege. Tradition, it should be observed, says that the war lasted half a year after the fall of the town, and that when it fell, the blood ran to the sea. Another source says that when Trajan slaughtered the Jews of Alexandria, their blood ran through the sea to Cyprus, where, in point of fact, a Jewish revolt was also suppressed. The capture of some additional Jewish centres on the south coast of Palestine subsequent to the taking of Bethar seems, therefore, to be implied in these traditions.

Something more than a war of caves and hill fastnesses was necessary to defeat a legion, but Yevin does not seek to answer the question which presents itself, what was the character of Bar Kochba's army and what was it that determined both its successes and its ultimate failure? He cites Hadrian's letter to the architect Apollodorus (GREGORIVUS, *The Emperor Hadrian*, 247), asking for a training manual particularly in hill warfare and thinks it may relate to the Jewish war. In fact, just at this time hill warfare and its problems were worrying the Roman staff a good deal, and what seems to be the annihilation of the IX "Hispana" by the Brigantes of the Yorkshire hill-country, somewhere about 117, is mentioned by Fronto in one breath with the losses of the Jewish war of 132-5. Exchange of commanders between Britain and the Middle East was frequent in this period, and Julius Severus took command of the Roman forces against Bar Kochba fresh from his British governorship. We can assume that in the event of a co-ordinated revolt the X "Fretensis" of Jerusalem might have found itself isolated from the auxilia dispersed in forts throughout the country, and without cavalry and light-armed troops would be in a very difficult position in the hills of Judæa. The distribution of Roman auxiliary units in Palestine at this period is unknown to us (although some conclusions might be drawn from the stationing of the VI "Ferrata" at Lejjum after the war); it awaits discovery through excavation, and could throw much light on the problems of the revolt.

In his first appendix Yevin treats of the fortress of the X "Fretensis" at

Jerusalem; this he attempts to locate on the evidence of Josephus (VII, 1, 1) and by the analogies of Doura-Europos and Tadmor (Palmyra). Of the latter two he publishes adequate plans, followed by a map of Jerusalem showing where he believes the legionary cantonments to have been, viz., occupying the south-west quarter inside the present walls of the old city, with Herod's citadel in the north-west corner doing duty as praetorium (or should the word be principia?), the north wall extending eastward from the present Jaffa Gate, and the east wall along the Tyropoeion. In 72 all the Romans would have had to do to complete this enceinte would have been to add the wall on the south. This map is plausible enough, allowing for difference of dates between Jerusalem and the other two sites, but we should have liked to hear more of the evidence for the north-south street entering the camp past the "Tetrapylon" and Forum marked on Fig. 8—which, if sound, adds greatly to its feasibility; and we should have preferred to hear something about wall datings and the distribution of legionary inscriptions and tiles, which have certainly been found in Jerusalem. (Yevin thinks that the 5th or 6th century Midaba map still shows signs of the legionary fortress in the buildings represented in the area traced out by him.)

The general result of Yevin's book is to show us that the limit has been reached in the interpretation of literary sources concerned with the Second Revolt, and that for further evidence we must turn to the spade; but such research has been virtually lacking. Though incomplete in the treatment of sociological factors and of Roman military history, as a marshalling of the sources and an attempt to compose a consistent picture out of obscure material, the book deserves high respect and opens up new lines of research.

SHIMON APPLEBAUM.

Oxford.

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE BOOK OF NAHUM

A. HALDAR. *Studies in the Book of Nahum* (Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift, 1946: 7). 1946. Pp. 173. A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln, Uppsala. Kr. 7.

In this book the author presents a detailed study of the text of the book of Nahum, and an interpretation of it from a religio-historical point of view. A brief preface is followed by an Introduction (pp. 1-14), after which come the two main sections of the book—The Text of the Book of Nahum (pp. 15-87; the Hebrew text, as revised by the author, and his translation of it, cover pp. 79-87), and The Book of Nahum in the Light of Comparative Religion (pp. 88-154). There are some additional notes (pp. 155-158), indices (pp. 158-162), and an extensive bibliography (pp. 165-173).

It will be convenient to speak first of the author's interpretation of the book. He rejects altogether the view, expounded of late especially by Humbert, that the book is a prophetic liturgy in which the fall of Nineveh is celebrated, and which was used at the New Year Festival in 612 B.C. (p. 3ff). His own interpretation finds its starting point in his earlier work entitled *Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites*, published in 1945. In this earlier work he treated of the rôle played by cultic circles in official and political life in Mesopotamian, Hebrew and

pre-Islamic Arabian societies. The book of Nahum originates, he believes, from such a circle. It reflects motifs current in ritual texts, more especially the mythic-ritual combat between the god and his foes. These motifs were familiar to the circle from which the book emanated, indeed were transmitted by the members of it (p. 148). This circle, which was hostile to Assyria, used this ritual material for a political end, for propaganda against Nineveh, in such a way that the cultic motifs which described the relation between the god and his foes were applied to a political enemy; "the national enemy is consistently described according to the mythical pattern, i.e. the national enemy is equated with the enemy of the god, and thought of in the same categories" (p. 88). Just as the god's enemies are destroyed in the ritual combat, so it is implied that the national enemy, who is equated with the hostile powers in the ritual, is also destroyed; "... history is conceived as one aspect of cosmic-ritual ideas and performances" (p. 145). If the book is by a person named Nahum—if this is not merely a name chosen in allusion to such passages as ii 3 and iii 7 (Nahum is an abbreviated form of Nahum-el "El is a comforter")—he must have belonged to an association of cultic prophets. Preferably, however, the author of the book is to be regarded as an anonym-

ous member of a cultic association. The book is to be dated somewhere between 663 B.C. and 612 B.C. (p. 148). It may be added that the book of Nahum is, according to the author, not alone among the prophetic literature in exhibiting this cultic character. Other examples are Amos v and the book of Zephaniah (p. 152f).

To give any adequate account of the author's analysis of the cultic motifs which he finds in the book of Nahum would take us far beyond the limits of a review. Comment on this part of the author's work must be restricted to two points. In the first place, it is difficult to escape the impression that the author sometimes reads into a biblical text more than is legitimate. We may have little difficulty in recognising, for example, in i 4 the cult motif of the god's battle with the waters, combined with another which finds parallels in Tammuz literature and other cultic texts, viz., the mourning (i.e. withering) of vegetation (p. 99ff). But is it really necessary to see, for example, in חֶזְקִיָּהּ (ii 2) an allusion to the god's kingship, the girdle being a royal emblem (p. 123)? Or again, is it necessary to read the words וְשֹׁמֵר עֵינָיו (iii 6) with one eye on a passage where Tammuz is said to stand as a "spectacle" (p. 137)? Is it not again to read too much into מְחַיֵּים (iii 7) to give it the meaning "redeemers"—"in the case of Nineveh, no king-god will arise to restore the fallen city" (p. 138)? The same criticism might be levelled at the author's interpretation of some passages from other prophetic books. For example, is there really to be seen in Amos v 24 the conception of the River functioning as a judge (p. 98)? These questions are not intended to cast doubt upon the validity of the author's method of research. That is not in question. They are intended rather to sound a note of warning. It is so easy in this kind of study to see, as did Shakespeare's Fluellen, "figures in all things."

Our second comment arises from the author's remarks on p. 153f. Here he allows the possibility that cultic motifs could often be used as purely stylistic formulae, but he thinks it hardly probable that such motifs would have had such prevalence in the prophetic literature unless they reflected a cult which was practised in Israel during a certain period of her history. The interpreter is here brought face to face with a problem of considerable difficulty. Once it is allowed that cultic motifs could be used as stylistic formulae, by what criteria is a decision to be reached as to when they are being so used, and when they reflect a living religion? And did the practice of the cult persist in Israel almost up to the Exile? If the author's interpretation of the book is correct, it is necessary to assume that it

did. A point of some importance for the understanding of the history of Israel's religion is raised here, and the author freely admits that caution is necessary in any attempt to deal with the problem (p. 154).

We may now turn to a brief consideration of the first main section. Here is a thorough investigation of the Hebrew text in the light of the evidence of the ancient versions and of Semitic philology. A few remarks may be made first on some textual matters. We note, for example, the author's use of the Ethiopic version, which, though rarely valuable, does at times witness to the Massoretic Text as against the LXX (see, e.g., on i 3f, p. 19f; cp. p. 8). We note further the use he makes of the Lachish texts (see, e.g., p. 9f, 43 n. 3, 72). It may be added incidentally that his remarks on the discussion between Torczyner and Orlinsky on the question whether in these texts we have to reckon with haplography or abbreviation do not make it evident that he himself distinguishes very clearly between them (p. 13f). Particularly noteworthy is the author's attitude towards the emendation of the text. When he draws attention in the Introduction (p. 1) to the arbitrariness of emendations which are not supported by a plausible conception of the text in its totality, he raises a point which invites careful consideration. And there is wisdom too in his remark, in reference to פְּלִירוֹת (ii 4) which he has to leave unexplained—"it is meaningless to emend the text in order to make it intelligible, since we do not know whether it is corrupted or whether it once was intelligible" (p. 46). Less welcome, however, is his contention that there is no basis at all for emendation *metri causa* (p. 12). Emendation is throughout kept to a minimum. Another point of interest touching the text is his denial of the existence of an acrostic in Ch. i (p. 24).

There is much in this first section that will interest the Semitic philologist. Mention may be made, for example, of the author's recognition that Hebrew is a composite language (p. 6); of his warning that great care must be exercised in the use of Arabic words for the purpose of explaining Hebrew words (p. 7); of his remarks on the relation between Ugaritic and early Aramaisms in Hebrew (p. 28), and on the archaizing features in the language of the book (p. 77f). Where linguistic material abounds in such profusion, any discussion of details is almost impossible. It must suffice to give a few examples of the author's fresh treatment of the Hebrew text. In i 10 the phrase כִּי-עַד סִיָּים סִכְכִּים is translated "for into the very meshes they are interwoven" (סִיָּר = Accadian *siru* "mesh") i.e. the enemy are caught in a net; in the same verse the words כִּסְכָּם סִכְכָּם are translated

"and as they consume a consuming" (סָבַא = Ugaritic סָפַא "eat"; סָבַא is third person plural with an enclitic -מ; סָבַא is an abstract plural) (p. 32); in ii 6 יִזְכֹּר is emended to יִזְכֹּר "bestow upon," in reference to the ritual meal, and הִסְכִּיחַ "the overshadowing one" is taken to refer to the emblem of the god (p. 50ff); in ii 8 הִצַּב is said to denote the divine statue (p. 53); and in iii הִשְׁכִּיר is emended to הִסְכִּיר "thou shalt be shut up," i.e., delivered up (cp. Is. xix 4), and נִעְלָמָה is given the meaning "overwhelmed," literally "concealed"—cp. Accadian *katāmu* which means both "cover" and "overwhelm" (p. 71f). Two small comments may be added. First, יָדַע in i 7 should be translated, not "knoweth" (p. 79), but "careth for" (cp. Arabic *wāḍ*)—the Hebrew word often has this meaning in the O.T. Secondly, the discussion on קָוָא in i 2 (p. 15f) may be usefully supplemented by Rahlfs' article on the *qāṭṭāl* form, in *Festschrift F. C. Andreas*, 1916, p. 132ff.

A brief word in conclusion. To the writing of this stimulating book the author has brought a wide range of learning. There is indeed something quite impressive in his systematic application of all the material from the ancient Near East which is now available to the elucidation of a prophetic writing, and it is worth while to emphasise that this "total" approach, whereby new horizons in the study of the book of Nahum are opened up, lends to his work a more than usual significance.

Cambridge. D. WINTON THOMAS.

HEBREW PHILOLOGY

SEPHER TORCZYNER, *Leshonenu*, vol. xv. Tel Aviv, Nisan 5707 (1947). Pp. 210.

The young but vigorous and ever-expanding Hebrew-speaking and Hebrew-reading community in Israel has been particularly fortunate in possessing a body of men who have made the spread and development of the language their life-work. Apart from several outstanding individual workers in this field, these men have largely carried on their work through the "Hebrew Language Committee" (*Va'ad Halashon Ha'ivrit*). Since 1933 the Bialik Professor of Hebrew at the Hebrew University, N. H. Torczyner, has been acting as president of the *Va'ad Halashon* and editor of its periodical, *Leshonenu* (Our Language). His contribution to the investigation and enrichment of the Hebrew language is incalculable. Not only did he, in many profound articles, as part-editor of the big Thesaurus of Ben-Jehudah, in his German-Hebrew dictionary, and in his works on the

Bible, throw much light on difficult problems of Hebrew lexicography and grammar, but through the training he gave to his students and the advice he gave his collaborators he has been steadily raising the standard of the work done on Hebrew in Palestine and awakened interest in the history of the language in wide circles.

The activities of the *Va'ad Halashon* are many-sided. It deals with inquiries on linguistic points pouring in from all the world, it keeps track of new words turning up in newspapers and in living speech, it works out lists of technical terms for all walks of life. Its latest publications include a technical dictionary (of which the first volume contains 2,400 terms), a dictionary for fire brigades, and a list of suggested names for girls. Its chief publication, however, is its quarterly *Leshonenu*. This is called a "Quarterly for the Improvement of the Hebrew Language," and part of it is devoted to lists of technical terms and discussions of present-day linguistic usage and abuse, spelling, and punctuation. Its larger and more important part is concerned with the history of the language from its very beginnings: etymology, grammar, lexicography, and the usage of important medieval and modern authors. Throughout its pages the influence of Professor Torczyner, his insistence on scholarly approach combined with a warm affection for the subject, is clearly discernible. It is thus very appropriate that the xv volume of his own periodical has been published as a "Festschrift" in honour of his sixtieth birthday.

The volume opens with a brilliant article by Professor M. Z. Segal on the Nash Papyrus, a copy of the Ten Commandments, the dating of which has been much debated. On the basis of a detailed comparison with the Septuagint, the author dates the papyrus in the period of the Maccabees (165-137 B.C.E.) and sees in it part of the Hebrew Bible as it was then current in Egypt and from which the Septuagint was translated. B. Maisler explains convincingly the Biblical names *Adoram*, *Izebel*, *I'ezzer* (from *I*, *ai* "father"), *David* (from ancient West-Semitic *dāwūdum* "marshal"), and *Haran*. Professor J. Bergman contributes an interesting study on the influence of Biblical style on the English language. A. S. Artom describes the Hebrew pronunciation of Italian Jews and the curious changes it underwent in recent generations. A study of the little-known Hebrew dialect of the Persian Jews comes from the pen of Irene Garbell, the elocutionist and phonetician, who has done much to spread better standards of pronunciation among Hebrew speakers. An important contribution to our knowledge of the strangest, and perhaps the oldest living, dialect of Hebrew is provided by Z. Ben-Hayyim, who gives

a phonetic transcription of Deut. xxxi 30-xxxii 43 as read by a Samaritan priest. Unfortunately, this sample only confirms the impression that the Samaritan tradition is completely worthless as an aid to the recovery of the "pre-Massoretic" form of Hebrew. The whole problem of Hebrew pronunciation is discussed by Professor S. D. Goitein, historian of Islam and outstanding educationalist, in a short but thoughtful article on "speech-culture." He suggests as the only sure basis for a good and clear pronunciation close adherence to the spelling. A more general though rather recondite phenomenon of Semitic phonology, the "dissimilation of geminates," is discussed by M. M. Bravmann. With an article by Prof. M. D. Cassuto on "Words in parallelism in Hebrew and Ugaritic" we enter the field of historical studies. He proves Ugaritic occurrences of such common Hebrew pairs as *adam*—*le'ummim* or *peh*—*šephathayim*, thus again showing the close similarity of the literary tradition of the two languages. He also shows that such comparisons can help us to understand difficult Hebrew passages. Prof. J. N. Epstein investigates the meaning of certain Talmudic words. Prof. I. Heinemann, continuing a series of researches on technical terms of biblical exegesis, discusses *paresh* "to comment." B. Klaar, who fell a victim to the dastardly attack on the Hadassah bus last April, contributes a brilliant article on terms invented by the translators from Arabic in the Middle Ages.

With Arab-Jewish contacts deals also the only article in the volume on a non-linguistic subject, by H. Z. Hirschberg, who discusses the historical background of the Islamic legends of Maqrûn, "The Horned," and the alleged divine worship paid by the Jews to Ezra. In the former he sees an echo of the Jewish Messiah legend, in the latter a proof that the Arabian Jews knew of the Rabbinic legend that Ezra would be the announcer of the Messiah.

S. Yeivin discusses the word *shelah*, which according to him has two distinct meanings, "arms" and "skin," which correspond to different roots in the cognate languages. F. S. Bodenheimer identifies the *barburim* of 1 Kings v 3 with geese. N. Berggrün shows that the frequent *ne'um* "utterance" was in ancient times read as a perfect or a construct infinitive. A. Malamet extracts some interesting information about the pronunciation of Hebrew in Talmudic times from Midrashic interpretations of Biblical words: '*aleph* was not sounded at all; *au* was sounded *ô* and *ai* as *ê*. Dr. N. Allony, now lecturer in Leeds, deals with some lexicographical innovations of the grammarian Dunash ben Labrat, and M. Gottstein with syntactical phenomena in the Hebrew translation of Maimonides' *Logic*. Other linguistic ma-

terial is collected by A. Avronin from Immanuel of Rome, and by I. Heilprin from Judæo-German. I. Z. Kahana brings some interesting cases of loan-translations in the mediæval responsa literature. I. Bursztyn lists some cases of "furtive vowels" in the Bible text. J. Bniel contributes some newly discovered terms for various kinds of magicians and others.

Altogether a volume packed with sound, productive scholarship, which augurs well for the future of Hebrew studies in Palestine.

C. RABIN.

Oxford.

AN ANONYMOUS PROPHET

D. WINTON THOMAS, "*The Prophet*" in the *Lachish Ostraca*, London, The Tyndale Press, 1946. Pp. 27. Price 2/6.

This pamphlet by the Regius Professor of Hebrew of Cambridge is based on the Tyndale Old Testament Lecture, 1945, delivered at a conference of graduate and theological student members of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship, at Trinity College, Cambridge. The booklet contains a careful discussion of all the evidence offered by the Lachish ostraca for the belief that a prophet is mentioned in them. Of the four passages that have been taken into consideration, the author retains only "Letter III", line 26, with its indisputable reference to a prophet.

The attempts to identify this prophet either with Uriah or Jeremiah himself, which have been made, in the former case by Torczyner, and in the latter by Jack and Dussaud, are rightly rejected by Professor Thomas. According to him, "there is nothing in the ostraca approaching proof that Jeremiah is the prophet referred to," and "we have to do here with a prophet whose name we do not know any more than we know the names of the numerous anonymous prophets who meet us in the Old Testament." This opinion will commend itself by its cautious and critical quality.

The study of the Lachish ostraca provides an excellent illustration of the relation between archæological and Biblical sources. As Professor Thomas points out, archæological discovery rarely provides direct contact with the Bible. "Rather does it provide material by means of which we may hope, laboriously and little by little, to fill in the background of Israelite life and thought."

DAVID DIRINGER.

London.

A FORERUNNER OF NAZISM

SAMUEL LÖWINGER, *Germania "profétai"*
[*Germany's "prophets."*] Budapest, 1947.
Pp. 235.

In this book, Dr. S. Löwinger, Director of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary, presents an historical account of the development and influence of 'Nazi' ideology during the past hundred years. With great acumen, the author traces the first emergence of the two leading conceptions of German nationalism, those of world domination and of the hegemony of Germanism in the cultural sphere, to the works of Paul de Lagarde (1827-1891), professor at Göttingen, the well-known Oriental scholar and historian of religions. The spiritual foundations on which the Third Reich was later to be erected appear to have been laid down by Lagarde, who in his writings worked out both the programme of Germany's future policy of oppression and the methods for its implementation. The chief points in Hitler's plans, for example, the subjugation of peoples, deportation, the idea of 'Lebens-

raum,' the attack upon democracy, and even the establishment of a new religion based on Teutonic mythology, are already developed by Lagarde, foremost among them the attack upon Jewry, which Lagarde himself initiated in the intellectual sphere by belittling Jewish achievements.

Dr. Löwinger investigates further the widespread influence of Lagarde's ideas on Nietzsche, Le Bon, Spengler and even, rather surprisingly, on Freud (in his book on Moses). In his scientific analysis of Lagarde's presuppositions, Dr. Löwinger may be said to continue the tradition of the Jewish Theological Seminary of Hungary, for two of its most distinguished members, D. Kaufmann and M. Schreiner, repeatedly crossed arms with Lagarde.

Dr. Löwinger's book combines most happily sound scholarship, political insight and a clear, popular style of exposition. An English translation of it would prove very useful.

A. SCHEIBER.

Budapest.

PERIODICALS

Tarbiz, Vol. XVIII, No. 3-4, April-July, 1947; pp. 129-208. Jerusalem, The Hebrew University Press Association.

M. FRANK, *The Date of Moses' Song*, Dt. XXXII. An examination of the "leitmotifs" of the Song leads to the conclusion that it dates probably from the end of the period of Judges or the beginning of the Monarchy. On the one hand, the historical background presupposes a tribal organisation ('*amim* in v. 9 mean 'tribes'); the enemies are not the Assyrians, but the Moabites or Amonites, to whom the contemptuous *ke'lo 'am* is suitably applied; the threatened punishment of Israel is not exile but dispersion ('*aseyhem* in v. 26, from *pe'ah*, means "scatter to the four corners of the earth"). On the other hand, the religious ideas of the song reflect primitive popular conceptions from which the universalistic tendency and the higher morality of the prophets are notably absent.

M. H. SEGAL, *Some Forms of Biblical Poetry*. The author supplements his *Introduction to the Bible*, p. 66, par. 95, by describing the stylistic device by means of which a word in the second hemistich (subject, object, adjective, or verb) is made to refer also to the first one; sometimes there is "reciprocal reference" between words in each of the hemistichs.

G. ALLON, *The Origin of Samaritans in Halakhic Tradition*. The author argues—

not altogether convincingly—that the view that the Samaritans are descendants of the aboriginal Canaanites is also reflected in the Halakha.

J. GUTTMANN, *Theophrastus on Jewish Religion*. Theophrastus's description of Jewish religion and cult reflects the view, current in some circles in antiquity, that Judaism embodies a sublime philosophical conception. The Jews themselves, according to Theophrastus, have realised Plato's ideal of philosophers.

S. M. STERN, *Imitations of Arabic Muwašṣahat in the Hebrew Poetry of the Spanish Period*. The author indicates the Arabic poems which served as models of imitation for Moses Ibn Ezra, Jehudah ha-Levi, Ibn G'iyat, Abraham Ibn Ezra and Todros Abul'afyah.

M. ISH-SHALOM, *Five Poems of Abraham Ibn Khalphon*. The author publishes from B.M. Ms. Add. 27542 five anonymous poems which he ascribes to A. Ibn Khalphon, using arguments that one would wish to see better substantiated.

S. MUNTER, *R. Jacob haQatan, the Anonymous Translator in the XIIIth Century*. The author identifies the anonymous translator of Arabic medical works assigned by Steinschneider to the XIIth century as Jacob haQatan (XIIIth century), and publishes from Ms. Heb. 1173 (B.N. Paris) the latter's preface to his

translation of a medical work by Averroes. The author gives also a complete list of the translated works. There still remains, nevertheless, some uncertainty regarding the date and the literary output of this translator, which only a careful examination of the texts might dispel.

Miscellanea: A. D. SINGER establishes the meaning of *wayya'pilu*, Nu. XIV. 44 (an *i*-imperfect), *watahinu*, Dt. I. 41, and *watazidu*, Dt. I. 43, on the basis of Arabic analogies. S. ABRAMSON (a) reveals traces of tannaïtic terminology in R. Aḥa's "Responsa"; (b) assigns the authorship of a group of "Responsa" in HARKAVY's *Teshuboth haGeonim*; (c) identifies in Ms. Opp. Add. 4to 27, Fol. 50a, par. 152 a "Responsum" by Sherira and Hay Gaon; and (d) points out an explanation by Hay Gaon contrary to the Geonic interpretation.

Sefarad, Vol. VII (1947), No. 2, pp. 209-468. Madrid-Barcelona (Revista del Instituto Arias Montano de Estudios Hebraicos y Oriente Próximo—Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas).

A. Díez Macho, *A Study of the 'hazarah nifradah' in the Hebrew Bible*. The repetitions of words in both hemistichs of Biblical verses are grouped by the author in the following classes, with ample illustrations in each instance: anaphora, epanadiplosis, epiphora or epistrophe, simplot, epanalepsis, epanodos and refrain. A useful supplement to KÖNIG's *Stilistik* and IBN EZRA'S *Poetics*.

A. DURÁN SAMPERE and J. M^a MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *A Jewish Necropolis of Montjuich (Barcelona)*. 171 graves (XIIIth-XIVth cent.) of the old Jewish cemetery of Barcelona were discovered in August, 1945. The graves represent three types: (a) the most "archaic"—the body deposited in a kind of cave excavated along the whole length of the grave and separated from it by vertically placed large stones; (b) the "anthropomorphic" grave following the contours of the body; (c) burial in wooden coffins. These types may have succeeded one another in the order indicated or may have been coeval, their heterogeneity being due to the different origin of the deceased. Some jewelry was found, including a golden ring with a Hebrew inscription of obscure meaning; also remains of gold embroidery belonging to a woman's headgear. The epigraphic material is very scanty; no dates are preserved. A sketch of the history of the cemetery by MILLÁS VALLICROSA discloses that after 1391 it became a quarry supplying material for public buildings and private houses in Barcelona, especially for houses in the Calle de los Condes de Barcelona.

S. MUNTER, *Assaf's Sources*. This earliest of Jewish medical writers translated from Greek into Hebrew extracts from

Hippocrates, Dioscorides, Galen, and was acquainted with Babylonian, Persian and Indian medicine. He was not influenced by Arabic medicine, and seems to have studied in Ephesus. He displays a certain degree of originality.

RICARDO DEL ARCO. *The "Aljama" of Huesca*. A complete account of documents, mostly discovered by the author himself, relating to the history of the Jewish Community in Huesca. Three hitherto unknown documents are published, one of which, dated 1471, contains most interesting details about the architecture and layout of a Jewish patrician dwelling-house.

ANTONIO CARDONER PLANOS and FRANCISCA VENDRELL GALLOSTRA. *Contributions to the Study of the Royal Physicians' Family, Abenardut*. Abstracts of documents, for the most part hitherto unknown, about the Abenardut family, originating from Toledo (XIIth century), members of which were during the XIVth century physicians of the Royal House of Aragon. A welcome supplement to F. BAER'S treatment of this subject in his *History of Jews in Christian Spain*.

Varia: LEOPOLDO PILES ROS, *Foreign Jews in Valencia in the XVth Century*. Information, on the basis of documents, about Jews from various Spanish (Christian and Moorish) countries, as well as from Fez, Barbary, Sicily and Portugal, who sojourned in Valencia for commercial and other purposes; notable among them, Jacob Israel, the envoy of the King of Granada on 18th June, 1427. Moses Rav of Sicily, the King's physician, who was commissioned in 1430 to act as judge between Jewish litigants, should not, however, have been included among the foreigners. F. CANTERA, *Jewish "Starrs" from Catalayud*. The author describes, and publishes in part, four "Starrs" concerning loans and purchases of property between Jews (and "conversos") of Catalayud and the neighbouring village of Torralba de Ribota. He also adds a note on the Jewish confraternity, *Malbishe 'Arumim* in Saragossa. J. PRADO, *The Literary Character of the Book of Tobit*. The author discusses from the Catholic point of view the historicity of the book of Tobit, and concludes that it contains a historical nucleus without, however, attempting to define this more closely. JOAQUÍN M. PEÑUELA, *Mohammed and the Jews of Arabia*. An account, on the basis of NALLINO'S *The Life of Mohamet*, of Mohammed's policy of exterminating the Jews in Arabia. HIRSCHBERG'S exhaustive monograph on this subject is not mentioned.

Survey of Books and Periodicals. Information, among other things, about the new Spanish translation of the Bible and the modernised edition in Buenos Aires of the Judeo-Spanish Ferrara Bible. MILLÁS

VALLICROSA, in a review of SCHOLEM'S *Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, points out that the conception of God in the "Zohar" can hardly represent an attempt to preserve the simple faith of the masses, and complains about the inadequacy of SCHOLEM'S definition of mysticism, which excludes it from "the classic manifestation of the great religions," as well as about his neglect of Hebrew sacred poetry. MILLAS VALLICROSA'S remarks on SONNE'S *On Baer and his Philosophy of Jewish History* (*Jewish Social Studies* IX 61-80), in which he attempts to strike a middle course between the two contending views, do not escape the shortcomings usually attending upon a compromise solution in matters of theoretical principle. S. GLANZMANN in his review of MUNTER'S edition of MAI-

MONIDES' *Toxicology* notices the use of Catalan in IBN TIBBON'S translation, a fact which makes one wonder whether the translation is the latter's or whether the vernacular terms were subsequently inserted. The reviews of P. JOSÉ MA COLL'S, O.P., *Schools of Oriental Studies in the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries* (*Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* XVII-XIX); of LEOPOLDO TORRES BALBÁS' "Adarves" (= minute urban districts) in Spanish Moorish towns (*Al-Andalus* XII); of FRAY PEDRO SANAHUJA'S *Lerida and her Battles for Religion*, Lerida, 1946, pp. 208; of RODRIGUEZ MONINO'S edition of FRAY DIEGO DE MÉRIDA'S (1512) *Travel to the East* (*Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* (XVIII)), contain a wealth of information about Jews in Spain and Marranos.

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- KAHLE, PAUL E., *The Cairo Geniza*. London, Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1947; ix—240. Price 12/6.—The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1941.
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- RINGGREN, HELMER, *Word and Wisdom, Studies in the Hypostatization of Divine Qualities and Functions in the Ancient Near East*. Lund, Håkan Ohlssons Boktryckeri, 1947. Pp. 232.
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